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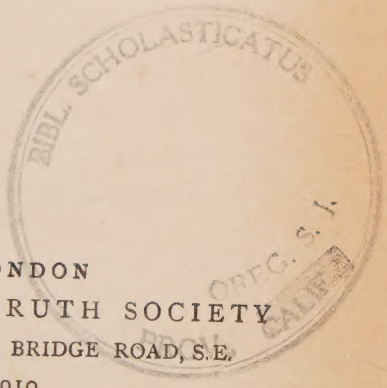

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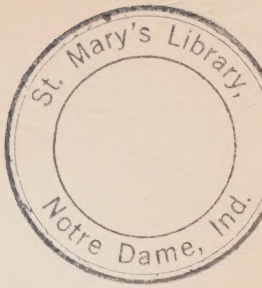

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THE
RELIGION OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

By G. S. Hitchcock

On the cover of a Hebrew Bible we read three words meaning *Law*, *Prophets* and *Writings*. In the prologue prefixed in 132 B.C. to the Greek translation of *Ecclesiasticus*, the three titles appear as "the *Law* and the *Prophets* and *the other ancestral books*." And because the third division begins with the *Psalms*, it has sometimes taken its name from that collection, so that our Lord, as we read in St. Luke xxiv. 44, could speak of what had been written in "the *Law of Moses* and the *Prophets* and *Psalms*."

The Books

The *Law* or *Instruction* includes the Mosaic narratives and legislation. This volume has been divided into five parts, four being named each from its first word, and one from its subject. To the Hebrew reader they were known as *In the beginning*, *And these are the names*, *And He called*, *In the wilderness*, and *These are the words*. But nearly three centuries before our Lord was born, the Greek translators gave the books the now familiar titles of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*.

The volume of the *Prophets* is divided into two

classes of works, for it contains the historical accounts of such as Samuel and Elijah, the *Former Prophets*, in the books of *Joshua* and the *Judges*, the first and second books of *Samuel* with the first and second books of the *Kings*, the last four being known to the ancient Greek and Latin translators as the four books of the *Kings*. The volume also includes the *Writing* or *Latter Prophets*, that is *Isaiah*, from 740 B.C. to 700; *Jeremiah*, 626 to 586; *Ezekiel*, 593 to 573; *Hosea*, 750 to 737; *Joel*, probably about 500; *Amos*, 760 to 750; *Obadiah*, soon after 586; *Jonah* probably before 400; *Micah*, from 724; *Nahum*, 610 to 608; *Habakkuk*, 605 to 600; *Zephaniah*, from 627; *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, about 520; *Malachi*, about 460.

The volume of the *Writings* is in three parts. First, there are the *Psalms*, the *Proverbs*, and *Job*. Then there are the five scrolls, read on special occasions. Of these, the *Song of Songs*, more familiar to us as the *Canticles*, is read on the first Sabbath after the second day of Passover with a mystical reference to God's love of Israel at the Exodus. *Ruth* is well adapted to the Feast of Weeks, that is, the Pentecost festival for the first fruits of wheat harvest. *How!* so named from its first word, but better known as *Lamentations*, is read at the black fast on the 9th of Ab, corresponding nearly to our August; and this is to bewail the two destructions of the Temple at that vintage season. The *Assembler*, that is, *Ecclesiastes* or the *Preacher*—the name being a feminine participle in the Hebrew and referring to Wisdom,—is read on the eighth day of *Sukkoth*, Booths or Tabernacles, that is, on the 22nd of Tishri, which nearly corresponds to our October. *Esther* is read on the 14th of Adar, our March nearly, to celebrate the festival of *Purim* or Lots, of which it describes the origin. And lastly, in the division of the *Writings*, we find *Daniel*, then *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, known to the ancient translators as *First* and *Second*

Esdras, and finally, the *Words of the Days*, named the *Chronicles* in some English versions, but described as the *Paraleipomena* or *Omissions* in the ancient Greek and Latin translations.

For many reasons it will be well to speak of these books by the names current among English Protestants and English-speaking Jews.

It is true the Hebrew Bible does not include all the books recognised by the New Testament writers, or by the early Fathers of the Church, or by the Greek Vulgate of the Alexandrian Jews. Larger than the *Law*, which alone was accepted by the Sadducees, it is yet less than the Old Testament acknowledged by the Hellenists, that is the Greek-speaking Jews of the Dispersion. It is really the Canon of Scripture as confessed by the Pharisees, and finally confirmed by the Rabbis assembled at Jamnia about 90 A.D. Then, too, they ordered a new Greek translation to be made, for it seems their hostility was awakened by the Christian use of the Greek Vulgate. And it may have been both their Palestinian tradition and their nationalist enmity against the Maccabees, which impelled their refusal of the later books. In any case, Schechter speaks truly in his *Studies in Judaism*, p. xxii., when he says "it was the veto of the Rabbis which excluded from the canon the works that now pass under the name of Apocrypha." It was their Palestinian Canon which Josephus employed in the *Antiquities* he published in 93 A.D., and by which he defended himself *against Apion*, I. 8, a little later. To it he would be bound by his attachment to the Pharisees, among whom he, a Jewish priest, had been enrolled in 56 or 57 A.D.

Further testimony to the Palestinian Canon may be found in *Fourth Esdras* xiv. 44, where the number of books is ninety-four according to the best reading, and includes seventy secret writings and the present Hebrew Bible, which was counted as twenty-four.

Fourth Esdras was written at the end of our first century; and there is no need to pursue the matter further, though sometimes a reference is made to the list of books in the *Baba Bathra* or "Last Door" treatise, 14 and 15, belonging to the Babylonian Talmud, which was completed 500 A.D.

Sometimes the books are so arranged as to number thirty-nine, sometimes as twenty-four, and sometimes as twenty-two to agree with the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. There are 23,206 verses according to the arrangement of the *Massoretes* or Transmitters, who worked from the sixth to the tenth century. Rabbi Saadiah, who lived in the earlier half of the tenth century, counted the occurrences of each letter; and according to his results the total number is 815,078.

The Study of the Books

Many studies are connected with this Hebrew Bible of the Palestinian Jews. *Textual Criticism* would restore the original text by means of manuscripts, printed editions, ancient translations, comparison of passages and the rules of Hebrew poetry. The *Higher* or *Documentary Criticism* would determine the literary character, date and author of each part. *Historical Criticism* would employ the results of both as well as all that can be gathered from the ancient remains of Assyria, Syria, Arabia and Egypt to compose a history of Israel. The *Anthropologist* then seizes every indication given both in such studies and in the comparative grammar and vocabulary of the Semitic languages to ascertain the Hebrew's position among the nations as well as all that regards his peculiar character and its meaning. So a basis is laid for the work of the *Exegete* who would more fully unfold these Hebrew books, and especially for the *Highest Exegesis*, which would show the signifi-

cance of Israel in relation to the Revelation of God and the preparation for His Kingdom. On this is founded the *Theology of the Old Testament*, which in turn demands the rational and harmonising labour of the *Schoolmen*.

For our immediate purpose it is unnecessary to enter deeply into these matters, or to discuss hypotheses as to the *Pentateuch*, the *Psalms* and *Daniel*, or to debate the question, first proposed by Ibn Ezra in the middle of the twelfth century, as to the unity of *Isaiah*. It will be sufficient to bear in mind such great landmarks of Israel's history as the Call of Abraham about 2200 B.C., the exodus under Moses about 1200, the anointing of Saul as king about 1020, the dedication of the First Temple about 950, the schism in Israel about 933, the beginning of Jehu's reign over Northern Israel in 842, the beginning of the Writing Prophets in Amos in 760, the captivity of Northern Israel in 722, the revival of religion at Jerusalem under Josiah in 621, the first captivity of Southern Israel in 597, the second and third in 586 and 581, the release of the exiles by Cyrus in 536, the dedication of the Second Temple in 516, the beginning of Malachi's prophecies about 460, and the rebuilding of the walls together with the restoration of the Law under Nehemiah and Ezra in 444.

We do not need to discuss theories about the origin of Semitic Religion. For this, as Davidson says in his *Theology of the Old Testament*, p. 44, "there is absolutely no material, and the imagination has unlimited scope." Though the matter will, therefore, be the more welcome to those who desire room for the play of fancy and hypothesis, our own concern is with the religious development of Israel. This, Davidson confesses in his *Old Testament Prophecy*, p. 62, "is mainly a development in the idea of God." Yet that able and devoted student of the Hebrew Bible does

not hesitate to say in his *Theology of the Old Testament*, p. 180, that "the doctrine of Jehovah receives few developments during the course of the Old Testament period. It is stated," he adds, "more broadly in the later books, but in the oldest writings the germs of it are contained." Indeed, we may say that the whole line of witnesses from Moses is a continued testimony to the immediate presence of God, the sins of Israel, and the close alliance between the Living God and His Chosen People. In these three facts, still so real to the earnest Israelite, when he rejoices at Passover, or laments on the Day of Atonement, we find the heart of the matter.

Perhaps, to study the religion of the Hebrew Bible, it will be best to review its seven principal features: its Monotheism, the revelation of God as Jehovah, the announcement of God's kingdom, the doctrine of righteousness, the sacrificial system, the proclamation of God as *Qadosh*, and the explanation of suffering.

I

Monotheism

The cultured Aryan, whose interest in physical nature may have dulled his spiritual consciousness of God's immediate Presence, translates human life into ethical science, and seeks God again by steps of abstract reasoning. Therefore he asks for proofs of God's existence. Many of his kindred, passing from the adoration of natural objects and forces to the worship of one vast Power, have groped after the Creator. And the Semite could strive by means of henotheism, worshipping one Baal or lord to the neglect of others, to return to monotheism, confessing the existence of God alone.

But from the Semites, and henceforth distinguished from them, are summoned the Israelites, the people

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of revelation. To these God is first, and so distinct from nature that polytheism can never be a step to monotheism, but utter apostasy from it. The Israelite will not regard nature as proving God's existence, but as illustrating His ways. In his *Comparative History of the Pagan Religions and of the Jewish Religion*, the French edition of 1908, p. 20, Dufourcq has happily indicated the divergence between the Pagan religions "penetrated to the marrow by the essential irreligion of magic, and inspired with the belief that God is dependent on man," and the Jewish religion, which breaks loose from that folly, and "teaches that fidelity to Jehovah is the condition of salvation."

Not by study or reflection, though these methods were open to him also, has the Israelite found the Almighty Creator, but by revelation. Therefore the Hebrew Bible does not reason to eternal ideas and thence to the Eternal Mind, nor from the existence of the changeable to that of the Unchangeable on Whom they depend, nor from the order of the world to its Geometer and Architect. Nor does it really argue from the aim and purpose of things and the world to the Designer. When any of these arguments seems to be employed, we shall find on closer examination there is no thought of proving God's existence. That is beyond questioning, as we can see on reading even such passages as the conclusion of Psalm 102:

> Formerly Thou didst found the earth;
> And the Heavens are the work of Thy Hands.

And the same principle is met in Psalm 94, in what seems at first to be the argument to design in nature, and from it to God:

> Shall not the planter of the ear hear?
> If He forms the eye, shall He not look?

Atheism then is the atheism of the conscience, the man having blinded himself, not to what is true, but

to what is right. And since the heart stands to the Hebrew as the symbol of man's inmost thoughts, it is said in Psalm 14:

An insolent man said in his heart:
There is not a God.

They destroyed; they beclouded themselves with wantonness:
There is not a doer of good.

The whole value of life is in communion with God. And so Abraham, wandering in the Promised Land as a pilgrim with God, is at once the father and type of Israel. Therefore we read in Psalm 73:

Who is mine in the heavens?
And with Thee I have not delighted in the earth.

My flesh was spent, and my heart:
My heart's rock and my portion are God for ever.

Naturally it is in the Psalms we find the deepest feeling of the religious soul; and in the 42nd it utters itself:

As a deer will crave for channels of waters,
So my soul will crave for Thee, O God.

And when the affliction of the righteous, or the prosperity of the wicked, raises the problem Israel will do so much to solve, it is sufficient for the present that God is near. Therefore it is said in Psalm 73:

And I am continually with Thee:
Thou didst take hold of my right hand.

Appeals to reason are, indeed, frequent, but they are those of the Existing God to his people. Thus nature is called in evidence, as in Isaiah xl. 26:

Lift aloft your eyes and see:
Who created these?

Then, as in Isaiah xli. 2, there is an appeal to history,

which witnesses that Cyrus has been raised for the service of God's people:

> Who roused a righteous man from sunrise?
> He will call him to His foot.

There is also the appeal to miracle, as in Deuteronomy vi. 21 and 22, the Israelite being commanded to tell his son:

> We were slaves to Pharaoh in Egypt:
> And Jehovah brought us forth from Egypt with a strong hand.
>
> And Jehovah gave signs and portents, great and evil,
> In Egypt, in Pharaoh, and in all his house, before our eyes.

But especially there is the appeal to prophecy, the true prediction transcending the power of human conjecture, confessing Jehovah, given for a righteous purpose, and not working its own fulfilment. Therefore the world of idols is taunted in Isaiah xli. 23:

> Expound what is coming hereafter,
> And we shall know that you are gods.

Still the chief basis is righteousness, the appeal being made in Deuteronomy iv. 8:

> What great nation has statutes and judgements
> Righteous as all this law?

It is of no avail to reply with Marti, in his *Religion of the Old Testament*, p. 11, that there was an *older* code, that of Hammurabi, King of Babylon about 2200 B.C. The question is not one of age, but of moral value; and Marti himself concedes that "in comparison with some crude and cruel features in the code of Hammurabi, a more humane tendency can be traced in many provisions of the law of Israel." Kautzsch, writing on the *Religion of Israel* in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. v. p. 665, is still more candid, and confesses that the two hundred and eighty-two paragraphs of Hammurabi's Susa code repre-

sented a more complicated state of society, but contained nothing like the *Book of the Covenant*—that is, the book sprinkled at Sinai—in its regulations for poor men, strangers, slaves and enemies, "because," he adds, "such are impossible on the soil of natural religion." No doubt the ninth line in the inscription of Eshmunazar, King of Sidon, who died about 275 B.C., appeals to the "*holy* gods" in defence of the tomb. But the Phœnician gods were powers and objects of nature; and scenes so vile defiled their temples that their attribute of holiness meant nothing but physical separation from ordinary life.

Now among the Semites the primitive name for God was El, therefore their original religion was not polydemonism, the worship of distinct powers vaguely regarded as supernatural. "Of beings more or less confusedly grouped, but yet plural," says Father Lagrange in his *Études sur les Religions Sémitiques*, p. 77, "there is no trace in the old word El, common to all the Semites." The name proves also that the Semites were first drawn to the power of God. But as *El Elyon*, God Most High, and *El Shaddai*, God Almighty, He was more to Israel, whose recognition of Him as Creator of Heaven and Earth implied a simple, spiritual, and absolute monotheism. As the Personal Cause of the Universe, He infinitely transcends Babylon's fabulous gods which came out of the waters; and He is equally distinct from an Impersonal Absolute, out of which all things evolve upwards or emanate downwards by an unconscious process.

Expressions which seem difficult to reconcile with absolute monotheism are really due to the vehemence of Oriental speech, and to the artistic imagination, which had little play except in poetry and poetic prose. And though David, in First Samuel xxvi. 19, declared his enemies, driving him from the possession of Jehovah, had said, "Go, serve other gods," it is idle to argue that David thought he would be placed

beyond Jehovah's influence, for Deuteronomy iv. 28 shows that the expression attributes no reality to idols. To the Israelite idolaters, it is said they shall be dispersed:

> And there you shall serve gods,
> The work of the hands of a man, wood and stone,
> Which will not see, and will not hear,
> And will not eat, and will not smell.

In the same way Jeremiah (xvi. 13) announces the exile of Judah, and adds:

> And there you shall serve other gods, day and night,
> As to which I will not give you favour.

But later (xxix. 7) the prophet commands the exiles:

> And seek the peace of the city,
> Whither I have removed you.
>
> And pray on its behalf to Jehovah,
> For in its peace there shall be peace to you.

So that Jehovah's influence is not limited to Israel; nor are the heathen gods more than the vain or worthless things they are named in Psalm xcvi. 5.

There is another expression, which seems to challenge a simple monotheism, and yet confesses the unity of God. In Job xvi. 19 to 21, we read:

> Yea, now, behold my Witness in the heavens:
> And my Testifier in the heights.
>
> My neighbours scorn me:
> My eye dripped to God.
>
> And He will argue for a man with God:
> And the Son of Man for His neighbour.

Here is a strange appeal from God to God, and an invocation of God to be a man's advocate with God. Equally remarkable is the account of Israel at Sinai, when the elders saw the God of Israel. But the monotheistic faith is not rent into one worship of

the Omnipresent God and another of His particular manifestations. Further, if Israel was to await a Messiah, the Son of David, who would deliver them, they were also taught, as in Isaiah xxxv. 4, the deliverance would be the act of God Himself:

> Behold your God!
> Vengeance will come, God's reward.
> He, He will come, and He will save you.

That is to be the message to Israel, as again in Isaiah xl. 9:

> Say to the cities of Judah,
> Behold your God!

To meet God at last, and face to face, this was the promise: and it was promised for the time of that Temple which was dedicated in 516 B.C. and destroyed in 70 A.D. So Malachi (iii. 1) announces in the name of Jehovah:

> Behold Me, sending My messenger:
> And he shall prepare a way before Me.
>
> And suddenly He shall come to His Temple,
> The Lord whom you are seeking.

II

Jehovah

Such hopes and promises involve a special relation between God and Israel; and this relation is marked by God's Name, "Jehovah." This word, in the form which use has made familiar, originated in four Hebrew consonants, Y H W H, the Y being softened to J, and the W being sometimes equivalent to V, as in our words, "wine" and "vine." The vowels of the word "Jehovah" are those of *Adhonay*, my Lord, the Jews employing this word whenever the Sacred Name occurs in the text; but the initial *a* is lightened to *e*

with the Y. The word "Jehovah," then, is compounded from the consonants of the Sacred Name and the vowels of the Hebrew word for "my Lord"; and this was first done in 1518 A.D. by Peter Galatinus, an Italian Jew, who had been converted and become a Franciscan and confessor to Pope Leo X. The Sacred Name in this form, "Jehovah," is so familiar, that it will be more convenient for us to retain it than to restore the original "Yahweh."

The word must have been pronounced in the middle of the ninth century B.C., when Mesha, king of Moab, set up a memorial stone at Dibon, because in recording a triumph over Israel, he wrote the four consonants of the Sacred Name in the eighteenth line of his inscription. A hundred years later, Amos (vi. 10) describes the desolation to come, and represents one man as saying to another,

> Hush, for one may not remind in the name of Jehovah.

But this may express a feeling of abandonment, and can hardly mean that the naming of the Name was forbidden, since its use is implied in the sentence itself. Indeed, that use must have been frequent, for the form occurs in the Hebrew text 6000 times, while *Elohim*, a plural word used with a singular verb to imply the majesty of God and otherwise to denote angels and men, occurs 2570 times; *El*, the Mighty One, occurring 226 times; *Eloah* 57 and *Elim* only 9 times. But it is said that after the Exile the Name was only heard in the Temple, and there three times during the Priestly Blessing and three times on the Day of Atonement. After the death of Simon the Just in 135 B.C., it was supplanted entirely by *Adhonay*, my Lord, or by the expression, "the Name," as among the Samaritans, according to Dalman's *Words of Jesus*, p. 182. But though the Name was held profaned by use, yet it was employed, as Deissmann argues in his *Bible Studies*, p. 335, for the

magical formulas which are still extant in Egyptian papyri and tablets.

The word must have been in use before the time of Moses, for it forms an element in the name of his mother, Jochebed. The idea that it was first revealed to Moses is due to a misunderstanding of the words in Exodus vi. 3 :—

> And I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob
> In "God Almighty":
> And as to My Name "Jehovah,"
> I was not known to them.

That is to say, though the name Jehovah was known to them, God was not known to them in the special character and relation now signified by the Name. This meaning is unfolded in Exodus iii. 12. God says, "I shall be with thee," and again, "I shall be what I shall be," or as some would render it, "I shall be the one who will be it," that is, "who will be with thee as promised." Therefore Moses is to say he has been sent by "I shall be." The word for "I shall be" is then read as "He will be," and this in its noun form is "Jehovah." So it was understood by Hosea, i. 9, in the middle of the eighth century B.C., when he was directed to name his son *Lo-ammi*, "Not-my-people," on account of Israel's apostasy, it being added:

> You are not my people,
> And "I will not be" for you.

The Name therefore meant that God would be with the people He had chosen. To-day many Jews and others translate it by "the Eternal"; and this will fairly represent it, if we understand the expression, not in a Greek and metaphysical sense as implying the Unchangeable and Enduring Reality, but in a Hebrew and ethical sense as implying the Constant and Faithful One, "Who will be" all He has promised His people.

Constantly in this Hebrew Bible we are reminded

of the unique relation between Jehovah and Israel. Human language, even in Oriental metaphor, is exhausted to express what that relation involves. Every wayward or apostate act of Israel is represented as moving Jehovah to jealousy; and by the Hebrew word translated "jealousy" we are to understand indignation and the sense of wrong. Here we not only find something unknown to the heathen cults, but we are also led to see that Israel served the Divine purpose in some peculiar way. Therefore the eating of certain animals was forbidden to them, because those animals had been consecrated to the gods and goddesses of those who worshipped natural forces and human passions. Thus, the pig was set apart to Attis, the fish to Atargatis and the hare to Ashtoreth; and the eating of them would mean, or seem to mean, sharing in the heathen worship. But Israel is emphatically the Chosen People, called to witness for him who is named in Isaiah *Qadosh*, the Holy One as Holy in transcendence, Jehovah of Hosts as Almighty in power and faithfulness, the First and the Last as Source and Goal of all. And all poetry can achieve is given to tell Jehovah's love for Israel. So we read in Isaiah xlix. 15:

> Will a woman forget her suckling,
> So as not to compassionate the son of her womb?
>
> Yea, these will forget:
> And I, I shall not forget thee.

Sometimes the relation between Jehovah and Israel was described as a marriage. So Hosea and his faithless wife stood for the Chooser and the Chosen; and the prophet's denunciations of the wretched Gomer had always a significance for Israel. Like all prophetic announcements of woe, these too were conditional, and would be withdrawn from the repentant. Turning to his children, Hosea implores them to plead with their mother. But soon it is plain his speech is

directed against the bull worship and other nature cults of northern Israel. Jehovah will bring sorrow upon His people, and deliver them from their false religions. Then, when He has shown that He, and not the nature gods, is Lord of nature, and able to bless His people with peace, He will unfold the mystical design of His Providence, as He says in Hosea ii. 21 and 22, according to the Hebrew numbering:

> And I will betroth thee to me for ever;
> And I will betroth thee to me
> In righteousness and in judgement,
> And in kindness and in compassions;
> And I will betroth thee to me in faithfulness,
> And thou shalt know Jehovah.

The design is seen in the life of Abraham. He is commanded to offer up his son; and afterwards he sends his servant to find a bride for the lad, whom he has figuratively received back from the dead. Having found the maid, chosen of God, the servant shows her the gifts he has brought, and waits upon her consent. Then he accompanies her upon her pilgrimage till Isaac comes forth to meet her. So the whole story of Israel was foreshadowed. Chosen of God, yet the people must themselves consent at Sinai to the Covenant; and their pilgrimage endured more than the forty years of straying their own waywardness involved. Accompanied by the Angel of the Presence, they prayed and laboured from generation to generation, from Miriam's Song of Triumph by the Red Sea to the greater Triumph Song of the greater Miriam among the hills of Judæa. Then when the sceptre had passed from Judah, and when Esau reigned in Herod his descendant, the Risen Isaac came forth. Again the long history begins on Pentecost, when God the Holy Spirit calls the Chosen to accompany Him through many a trial till the Risen Isaac comes forth at the Last Day to claim His Bride. And the story of the Church proves the best com-

mentary on Israel's history, as the life of the oak unfolds the significance of the acorn.

III

The Kingdom of God

Yet plain to read, this Hebrew Bible proclaims a Kingdom of God to be established in the earth. True, this was attained in a measure when Moses, in obedience to God, organised the people; for, as Driver says in his *Literature of the Old Testament*, Seventh Edition, p. 152, "It cannot be doubted that Moses was the ultimate founder of both the national and the religious life of Israel." And to name that Israelite commonwealth, Josephus coined the word "theocracy," when he wrote *against Apion*, ii. 16, saying: "Some entrusted the government authority to monarchies, some to the lordships of a few men, and others to the multitudes. But our legislator looked off to none at all of these, but as one might say in a forced form of speech, he appointed the government to be a theocracy, and attributed the rule and the power to God." But the kingdom which came then was to come more fully in the fuller manifestation of the Divine purpose. About five centuries later, when the Tabernacle was to be replaced by the Temple, the prophet Nathan, as we read in Second Samuel, vii. 12 to 16, gave David a message which strangely blended the reign of Solomon and the eternal kingdom of Messiah.

> For thy days shall be full:
> And thou shalt lie with thy fathers,
> And I will raise thy seed after thee,
> Which shall issue forth from thy bowels.
> And I will establish his kingdom,
> He shall build a House for My Name,
> And I will surely establish the throne of his kingdom unto eternity.

I, I will be to him for a father:
And he, he shall be to Me for a son.
As to what in his erring—
And I will argue with him with men's rod,
And with the strokes of the sons of man.
And my kindness shall not turn aside from him,
As I turned it aside from Saul,
Whom I turned aside from before thee.
And thy house and thy kingdom shall be confirmed unto eternity before thee:
Thy throne shall be established unto eternity.

Nearly another five centuries will pass; and in 516 B.C., when Rome in the last of the Tarquins is only emerging from legend, Israel sees a still fuller coming of the kingdom. Shorn of earthly splendour, the Second Temple hardly suggested what a victory for Israel had been gained in the victory over Israel. Yet, not only had God's messengers been dispersed among the heathen, but the Palestinian Jews also had been transformed into a community bound by Messianic hopes rather than by a national constitution. And above all, the spiritual life of the faithful was deepened. Immediately before the Exile they had pointed proudly to the sacred buildings of Jerusalem, and that in spite of Jeremiah's warning (vii. 4):

You shall not trust for you to words of the deceit, saying,
The Temple of Jehovah,
The Temple of Jehovah,
The Temple of Jehovah, they!

For they had broken the old covenant; and therefore it was necessary there should be a new. So it is said in Jeremiah xxxi. 32, according to the Hebrew numbering:

For this is the covenant which I will make with Israel's house
After these days, declared Jehovah.

I have given my Law within them:
And I will write it upon their heart.

But at the time a spiritual religion was so far from being acceptable to all the people, that many of them fled from the Chaldean invaders to Egypt, taking Jeremiah and telling him (xliv. 17) they would continue to worship the personification of their own passions that they had enthroned as Queen of Heaven. Far enough then were they, as many an erotic poet of our own time, from the spiritual Religion which reveals the Spotless Jewess as Mother of God and as Queen of Heaven among the saints. But during the Exile, Ezekiel (xlvii.) saw a vision of the Temple spring, the water flowing in an ever-deepening river of blessings for the nations, and salvation proved to be of the Jews.

After the Exile, and at the Dedication of the Second Temple, Haggai proclaimed both its continuity with the former Temple and its own more glorious destiny. He announced (ii. 9):

> Greater shall be the latter glory of this house than the former,
> Said Jehovah of Hosts.
>
> And I will give peace in this place,
> Declared Jehovah of Hosts.

That Second Temple would last six centuries, till its destruction in 70 A.D.; and it may well be asked how its glory would be greater, since it no longer possessed the Ark of the Covenant, the Tablets of Commandments or the visible Glory of the Divine Presence. The buildings were not grander, for their dedication was answered by weeping among the old men who could remember the former structure; nor could the Dedication by Judas the Maccabee in 165 B.C. excel Solomon's Festival. But the latter glory of the House excelled its former when One greater than Solomon trod its courts, and when Jehovah Himself came to shepherd His people Israel. Then

would be fulfilled what Jeremiah (xxiii. 6) prophesied of David's Righteous Sprout:

> In His days Judah shall be saved:
> And Israel shall dwell confidently.
>
> And this is His Name which shall call Him,
> Jehovah our Righteousness.

So Israel will call to Him, who will call to her, according to other words found later in Jeremiah xxxiii. 16:

> In those days Judah shall be saved:
> And Jerusalem shall dwell confidently.
>
> And this is Who shall call to her,
> Jehovah our Righteousness.

IV

Righteousness

This righteousness of God may not be understood in an abstract sense. The Hebrew mind was essentially imaginative, concrete and ethical. And the righteousness of God, if we are to determine the meaning of the word by its use rather than by its derivation, meant His straightforward fulfilment of His covenant. Therefore, as God had chosen Israel, His righteousness would be found in the salvation of His people. For example, it is said in Isaiah xlvi. 12 and 13:

> Hear Me, you strong of heart,
> Who are far from righteousness.
>
> I have brought near My righteousness:
> It shall not be far.
>
> And My salvation shall not delay:
> And I will give salvation in Zion to Israel My glory.

And frequently God's salvation and God's righteousness are parallel in Hebrew poetry, as when Jehovah answers in Isaiah lxiii. 1:

> I, speaking in righteousness,
> Great to save.

Even if the righteousness of God denotes the attitude corresponding to the norm of the Divine Being, yet, as Kautzsch hastens to add, it refers not infrequently to that aspect of Jehovah's activity which has the salvation of His people for its object. The important point is its concrete, active character. So the reality and activity of righteousness in men is acknowledged, and its mere forensic imputation is denied by such Protestant students of the Hebrew Bible as Davidson in his *Theology of the Old Testament*, p. 142, and Kautzsch in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. v. p. 683.

Created in righteousness, in the image and likeness of God, his natural powers elevated to supernatural activities, the first man was master of himself, and knew no shame. Tried by such a test as suited one still without experience and but just come to the activity of reason, he fell. Nor was this all. The Divine grace, the supernatural elevation of natural powers and the friendship with God were lost. And as is shown in the Catholic Truth Society's booklet on *Alleged Difficulties in Holy Scripture*, p. 17, human solidarity for good involves communion in loss. Therefore Adam's sin deprives his sons of the Divine friendship, grace and virtues; and there is a consequent rebellion of the lower appetites, so that the Psalmist (li. 5) must confess,

> Behold, I was brought forth in iniquity:
> And in sin my mother conceived me.

Yet God makes a new covenant with men, and endows them with grace through circumcision, now

raised to sacramental value. But so many Israelites follow Adam, that Hosea (vi. 7) is enjoined to say,

> And they, like Adam, overpassed a covenant:
> There they dealt treacherously with Me.

But such sin means death, the spiritual loss signified in being cut off from Israel. Wilful aversion from God—that is mortal sin. So it is written in the Book of Numbers xv. 30 and 31:

> And the soul who shall do it with a high hand,
> Of the native and of the stranger,
> He reviles Jehovah;
> And that soul shall be cut from the midst of his people,
> For he has disdained Jehovah's word,
> And frustrated His commandment.

Other sins were venial, and could be atoned by sacrifices, as it is said in the same passage, verse 28:

> And the priest shall atone for the inadvertent soul
> (When he sins in inadvertence)
> Before Jehovah, to atone for him;
> And it shall be forgiven him.

And that the word "inadvertence" is to be interpreted freely is evident from the provision of sacrifices for such sins as those mentioned in Leviticus vi. 1 to 7, the defrauding a neighbour and the perjuring oneself, it being of course understood that these are not done with a high hand.

V

Sacrifices

Of the sacrifices described in the first seven chapters of Leviticus, one was an oblation of fine flour or unleavened wafers, over which oil was poured and with which salt was mingled, the oil symbolising the sanctifying action of God and the salt speaking of incorruption. But besides the meal-offering, there were sacrifices involving the shedding of blood, though

this was free from ideas with which it was associated in religions of nature, nor implied an invocation of the animal's fate on him who broke the covenant, as it did in Arab contracts. On the contrary, the blood signified the life. The offering of it acknowledged the supreme dominion of Jehovah. And the placing of the offerer's hands on the victim's head told that vicarious suffering, the suffering of one instead of another, has room in the supernatural order as it evidently has in the natural.

First, then, came the burnt-offering, offered whole in the Tabernacle court, the blood being sprinkled round the altar. The supreme excellence and dominion of Jehovah is confessed by this, a sacrifice of adoration. In another sacrifice, the peace-offering of thanksgiving or in fulfilment of a vow, the fat was burnt and the blood poured out, fat and blood being forbidden to Israelites in accordance with Leviticus iii. 17. The rest was eaten, both the sacrificial feast and the nature of the sacrifice as a peace-offering constituting an act of thanksgiving. Then there was the sin-offering; and in this case the rite was not completed in the open court. The priest must enter the Tabernacle; and there within the Holy Place he must sprinkle blood seven times before the Veil that secluded the Most Holy Place, and he must put blood on the horns of the incense altar before the Veil. There was also the guilt-offering for wrongs done against Jehovah or a neighbour; and this involved restitution, a fifth part being added to the principal.

Therefore the sacrifices of the Old Law were the burnt-offering in adoration, the peace-offering in thanksgiving, the meal-offering in petition, and the offering for sin or guilt in satisfaction. And it is not a little remarkable that the Christian or Messianic priest to-day, in repeating the *Gloria in Excelsis*, bows four times to indicate the four purposes of the Catholic Mass. Here, after the oblation of the

unleavened bread and the invocation of the Holy Spirit, there is the Consecration, to be followed by the presentation of the Divine Victim in adoration, thanksgiving, petition and satisfaction, because the Christian or Messianic sacrifice unites in one and transforms the sacrifices of ancient Israel.

But there was also the annual rite, described in Leviticus xvi. In the autumn, on this the great Day of Atonement, and to cleanse the sanctuary from the people's sins, the Israelites were commanded to afflict their souls, while the high-priest, without his garments of glory and beauty, and wearing only linen vestments, presented a victim on behalf of the priesthood, and offered two goats on behalf of the sanctuary and people. Carrying censer and incense within the Veil, he burnt the incense, so that the clouds in symbol of prayer covered both the Ark and its lid. This lid was known as the Covering, that is, the Covering of sin, for as the *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 498, points out, the explanation of the word as "cover" in the sense of a "lid" has no justification in usage. Excelling both the great altar in the court and the incense altar in the Holy Place outside the Veil, this Covering was the most sacred of the three; therefore on it the high-priest sprinkled some blood of the bullock that atoned for the priests; and having slain the goat, already chosen by lot for Jehovah, he sprinkled also of its blood on the Covering.

Then the high-priest took the other goat, the *Azazel*; and laying his hands on its head, he confessed the sins of the people. Afterwards he sent it into the wilderness as *Azazel*, the symbolic "carrier away" of Israel's sins, as the Old Greek version implies. The slain goat was a sin-offering; but the dismissed goat was not a sacrifice; and least of all could it be regarded as a sacrifice to a demon. Yet it has been alleged that the expression "for Azazel" must refer to an evil spirit of the wilderness. Lesêtre, however,

3 12 99

in Vigouroux' *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. i. col. 1876, reminds us that the preposition in the phrase "for *Azazel*" indicates the end of the action and the state into which the subject of the sentence passes. So it is said in Genesis ii. 7, that the man became for a living soul. And in Leviticus xvi. 26, they send the goat away for *Azazel*, that is, to be *Azazel*, the name being a reduplicated form to denote intensity and being derived from a root meaning "to remove." So the goat becomes "utter removal" of sins and a symbol of full forgiveness.

Nothing could be farther from the spirit of the Hebrew Bible than sacrifice to a demon. Called to be holy because Jehovah is holy, the Israelites are forbidden all practices which involve any dealing with evil powers. In the well-known passage of Deuteronomy xvii. 10 and 11, we read,

> One shall not be found among you,
> Causing his son and his daughter to pass over in the fire.
> Divining divinations,
> Soothsaying,
> And auguring,
> And sorcering,
> And weaving spells,
> And asking a wizard,
> And cunning (*literally* "*knowing*," *but in a bad sense*),
> And seeking to the dead.

VI

Qadosh

God then is not only Jehovah, eternally constant in His relation to Israel, and perfectly righteous in fulfilling His covenant, but He is also the Holy One. Indeed, the very word "Holy One" or *Qadosh* becomes His Name. For example, in Isaiah xl. 25, we meet the sentence:

> And to whom will you liken Me,
> And I be equal?
> *Qadosh* will say.

Earlier in the chapter, verse 14, God identifies Himself with Israel in this regard:

> I, I have helped thee, declared Jehovah:
> And thy Redeemer is *Qadosh* of Israel.

Not indeed for themselves alone was this privilege given. Separated and consecrated to Jehovah, Israel was a city set on a hill as God's witness to the world. Therefore it is said in Ezekiel xxxvi. 23:

> And the nations shall know that I am Jehovah
> (Declared my Lord Jehovah),
> When I am hallowed in you before their eyes.

That is, the nations, watching the deliverance of Israel, will confess God as Holy. But this effect may sometimes follow his judgement, as it is said in Isaiah v. 16:

> Jehovah of Hosts was exalted in the Judgement:
> And God the *Qadosh* was hallowed in righteousness.

In this title, the *Qadosh* or Holy One, we have more than God's relation to Israel, for Amos, who says in iv. 2 that

> My Lord Jehovah swore by His Holiness,

says in vi. 8:

> My Lord Jehovah swore by Himself.

It is the revelation of God as transcending all, and as one with the Eternal Goodness and the Eternal Law. As His purpose regards the whole universe, all men shall be led through Israel to rejoice in this Revelation of God Himself. Therefore the Psalmist (cxlv.), when he chants the everlasting kingdom of God, concludes with this verse:

> My mouth shall speak Jehovah's praise:
> And all flesh shall bless His Holy Name for ever and aye.

To prepare for such an Unveiling, Israel must be

trained, till it has learned God's will as proclaimed in Leviticus x. 3:

> I will be hallowed in those approaching me:
> And I will be honoured upon the face of all the people.

Therefore everything around him reminded the Israelite of his calling, and served him as a symbol, whether it was counted clean and capable of being consecrated in Jehovah's service, or whether it was counted unclean and consequently ever unfit.

VII

The Problem of Suffering

In another way, also, Israel was trained. Favoured by God they would be happy on earth. But those who were drawn nearest Him were sometimes afflicted, while some of the wicked seemed to prosper. Job's friends argued wisely enough that the penalty of sin must be suffering. But Eliphaz went too far when he said to the stricken Job (xxii. 5):

> Is not thy wickedness great?
> And there is no end to thy iniquities.

Nor would the Hebrew Bible lead us to follow him in his doctrine that all suffering must be the penalty of sin. It is plainly illogical to argue that all suffering is penalty, because all penalty is suffering. Elihu could rightly urge that suffering may be for purification. Therefore he told Job (xxxvi. 8 and 9) that God does not forsake the righteous:

> And if, bound in the fetters,
> They were seized in the cords of affliction,—
> And He expounded to them their work
> And their transgressions, for they were overbearing.

Yet the reader of the prologue to the Book of Job knows the while that suffering may also be for trial

and for the unfolding of the faithful soul's virtue as a spectacle to angels and men and devils. Israel, however, learned a still loftier truth in Isaiah liii. 5. They had scorned the Divine Martyr and Victim;

> And He, pierced because of our transgressions,
> Crushed because of our iniquities,

had been, though they knew it not, the Scapegoat of Atonement Day; and

> Jehovah had caused the iniquity of us all to fall on Him.

But though He had been cut off from the land of the living, yet the day would come when He, in resurrection life, would

> See of His soul's trouble,

and

> Be satisfied by His knowledge.

Universalism

These seven principal features of Israel's Religion must, however, be viewed in the light of Israel's doctrine regarding Jehovah's Act of Creation. The God of Israel is more than the God of Israel and more than the Framer of the World. All things are from Him and by Him and for Him. The Religion of the Hebrew Bible, therefore, could not be particularist or national. Its scope must embrace the nations of the world; and since Jehovah is no merely physical force but a Personal Being, addressing Himself to personal beings whom He has endowed with reason and will, His appeal must be moral and not coercive, persuasion by the voice and not compulsion by the sword. Hence it is we find in Israel a preparation for the Catholic Church and the Catholic Missions.

The first promise to Abraham announced that all the clans of the soil would be blessed in him. And

Amos, the first of the writing prophets, not only proclaims Jehovah as the future Judge of the nations, but also declares His providential guidance of them in time past. Speaking in His name, the prophet (ix. 7) asks:

> Have I not brought up Israel from the land of Egypt,
> And Philistines from Kaphtor,
> And Aramæans from Qir?

Isaiah foretells the nations one with Israel in religion as well as in providence and judgement. Looking forward to the kingdom of God, he foresees that the Egyptians will cry to Jehovah (xix. 21):

> And Jehovah shall be known to Egypt:
> And Egypt shall know Jehovah in that day.
>
> And they shall offer a sacrifice and meal-offering:
> And they shall vow a vow to Jehovah and fulfil it.

Larger and clearer grows the vision, and fuller the love that inspires it, when the prophet (xix. 24 and 25) sees that

> In that day Israel will become a third
> To Egypt and to Assyria,
> A blessing in the midst of the earth,
> [The blessing] which Jehovah of Hosts blessed him,
> Saying, Blessed be my people, Egypt,
> And the work of my hands, Assyria,
> And my inheritance, Israel.

This unity in sacrifice and blessing does not ignore the Revelation given to Israel. On the contrary, it must recognise that salvation is of the Jews, and that the Saviour comes to fulfil the Law. The prophet Micah (iv.) sets this forth in a grand figure:

> And it will come to pass in the end of the days,
> The mountain of Jehovah's House will be
> Established on the top of the mountains;
> And it will be lifted above the hills.

And peoples will stream unto it:
And many nations will go and say,
Come, and we shall ascend to Jehovah's mountain,
And to the House of Jacob's God.
And He will teach us of His ways;
And we shall walk in His paths.
For instruction will issue from Zion,
And Jehovah's Word from Jerusalem.

It is in view of that day the Psalm (xlvii. 9) chants:

God reigned over nations:
God sat upon His holy throne.

There will be a sacrifice, but a bloodless one. Even the nations beyond the limits of Israel will then offer the *minchah*, or meal-offering, a wafer of pure flour. So the corrected text of Zephaniah iii. 10 tells us:

From beyond the rivers of Cush will be my incense:
The daughter of Phut [Libya] will bring a minchah.

And Malachi i. 11 proclaims still more clearly the universality of that unbloody sacrifice made to-day in the Catholic prayer of oblation. Speaking in Jehovah's name, the prophet says:

For from the sun's rising and unto its setting,
My Name shall be great among the nations.

And in every place incense shall be offered to my Name,
And a pure minchah.

[illegible]y Name shall be great among the nations,
[illegible]ovah of Hosts.

[illegible]rsalism is of doctrine and worship. It [illegible]hurch, and it is this more fully because [illegible]holic kingdom. When Micah would [illegible]g, who is at once eternal and the [illegible]retells a woman about to become [illegible]em. In chapter v. 1 and 2, [illegible] numbering, he addresses the

little village, too small to be reckoned among the great battalions of Judah, and says in Jehovah's name:

And thou, Bethlehem-Ephrathah,
Too small to be among the thousands of Judah,

From thee shall issue to Me
He that is to be ruler in Israel.

And his issuings are from of old,
From the days of eternity.

Therefore he will give them up,
Until the time when she who brings forth has brought forth.

Micah points to Immanuel's mother; and his contemporary Isaiah proclaims her son. It is a proclamation not only of the kingdom's continuity with David's throne and of its limitless increase, but also of its eternal duration. The gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. Therefore, says the prophet (ix. 6 and 7):

For a bairn has been born to us;
A son is given to us;
And the princedom is upon his shoulder.
And his Name has been called,
Wonderful, Counsellor,
God, Mighty One,
Father of Eternity,
Prince of Peace.

It is true that many Israelites have never understood the destiny of their nation. But already in their own Hebrew Bible stands their type. Jonah certainly is a type of our Blessed Lord, and the experience of the prophet foreshadowed the three days and three nights, as the Jews count them, from the arrest on Thursday night to the resurrection on Sunday morning. But Jonah is also a type of the people, chosen as Jehovah's missionaries to the nations, and seeking to evade their commission. None the less, there were faithful Israelites, who

received the command again from Messiah's own lips. Not in vain did they go forth to make all nations disciples, baptizing them into the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to keep all things whatsoever the Messiah, that is, the Christ, had commanded them.

Conclusion

This Hebrew Bible records the passage of a unique people from stage to stage of religious truth and spiritual life. However much their institutions availed for those days of pilgrimage, they availed still more to herald the Catholic Kingdom. In this all the longings of Israel are fulfilled; the Divine purpose in Israel is here achieved; and the Isaian prophecy (ii. 3) has been accomplished, for:

> Instruction has issued from Zion:
> And Jehovah's Word from Jerusalem.

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THE GREEK TESTAMENT

By C. C. Martindale, S.J.

It may seem rash to the verge of irreverence to attempt, in a few pages, an account of what is, after all, nothing less than Christianity. Still, in this series, clearly some such attempt must be made. And where all human literature must for ever prove inadequate, there is less reason to fear that inevitable selection and condensation will have made these pages positively misleading. In them we wish to indicate some of the "organic ideas" of the religion we find preached in the New Testament; to suggest their contrast, yet connection, with the past, and their vital relation to the future. Our aim will be "dynamic" rather than "static"; we want to show forces at work, rather than to make, even in outline, a map of New Testament history or theology.[1]

I. The Documents

The Greek Testament consists of the 4 Gospels, the Acts, 13 letters of St. Paul, 3 of St. John, 2 of St. Peter, 1 each of St. James and St. Jude, the letter to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse.

[1] Still less do we propose to discuss obscure points—chronology; historicity of the records; the character of the Johannine writings; the alleged Pauline influence in the Synoptists; etc. Quotations will be direct from the Hebrew or Greek; the Evangelists will be noted M, Mk, L, J, respectively; the Epistles by the first two letters of their name, *e.g.*, Romans, Ro; chapter and verse thus, 3^8, solely to save space. Finally, it will constantly be borne in mind that we are not here trying to prove Catholic doctrine from the N.T.; and even when we assert what may (from any point of view) be controvertible, we wish to exclude even the semblance of controversy.

Scholars differ as to the dates to which the composition of these documents may be assigned. It is no part of our design to discuss them.

Many Catholic writers place M about 60-67 ; Mk, 62-67 ; L, 60-70, or later (Jacquier). St. Paul's epistles can be dated with greater confidence. 1 and 2 Thessalonians may belong to 51 ; 1 and 2 Corinthians to 55 ; Romans, 55-56 ; Philippians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, 59-61 ; Galatians is more doubtful ; it must be placed, anyhow, between 50 and 55. The Pastoral letters to Timothy and Titus come last of all. The Epistle to the Hebrews is of uncertain authorship, and may be placed about 70. A Catholic may hold the theory—on many grounds attractive—that the Apocalypse contains much matter written under Nero (54-67), but was completed and unified under or soon after Domitian (81-96). The fourth gospel is the product of St. John's extreme old age.

Neither do we intend to discuss the structure of the Synoptists, M, Mk, L, nor their interrelation. The following is a theory probable in itself, and fully admissible by Catholics.

The tradition about Jesus of Nazareth was at first oral and in the Aramaic language, which He spoke. This tradition was early put in writing, often in Greek, by many hands, forming collections of sayings or events varying in character, order, and completeness. One such collection of events and discourses was used by M, Mk, and L. This is the "triple tradition." Another, the "double tradition," was used by M and L, but not by Mk. The former tradition was indeed practically identical with Mk himself. The latter was based on a document older than Mk's, but known to him, consisting of *logia*, *i.e.*, (apparently) sayings and discourses. The floating traditions, gathered and fixed by the Evangelists, were none the less coherent, and not tampered with. The Greek Luke, disciple of Paul, and writing for converts of Greek gentility ; the Jew Matthew, addressing Jews of Hellenistic culture ; the Jew Mark, disciple of Peter, and writing primarily for convert pagans, *e.g.*, of Rome, yet preserve the primitive flavour so exactly, paint pictures of the Palestine of Jesus so identical,

that we see how differences of time, place, audience, author, have not vitiated the quality of a tradition held inviolable, unique, and not to be imitated; while the contemporary or antecedent Acts and Epistles are all strongly coloured by their circumstances.[1]

These books floated down amid a drift of rather later literature, purporting to be similar (*e.g.*, the *Gospel of Peter*; the *Epistle of Barnabas*; the *Apocalypse of Peter*; the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*). Some Apostolic writings, see 1 Co 5^9, 2 Co $2^{4,5}$, seem to be lost; non-Apostolic letters, *e.g.*, the Epistle of Clement of Rome, were at first here and there read as Scripture.

From 140 onwards a row of authorities (Tatian for Syria; Clement for Alexandria; Tertullian for Africa; Hippolytus and the Muratorian Fragment for Rome) makes certain the canonicity of those four Gospels which Irenæus (182–188) explicitly names the Tetramorph or Quadriform Gospel. Quotations, explicit or implicit, carry them back to sub-Apostolic times. Towards the end of the second century, discussion raged around the character of 2 Pe, Ju, Ja, He only; and after some time, the Apocalypse. The Marcionites and the claims of the Montanists, who asserted their own books to be inspired, and the necessity of stemming the flood of Apocryphal literature, drove the Church to form her canon. Clement, *c.* 200, first applies the name *Testament* to the sacred library of the Christians, though Irenæus and Tertullian recognised it as a pendant to the Old Testament, and similarly inspired; and Melito of Sardis, by speaking of the *Old Testament*, implies the knowledge of a New. The immense erudition of Origen (254†) and Eusebius (340†) prepared the period of fixation, 367-405. The labours of Athanasius and Jerome made finality possible. The catalogue of Pope Damasus, arranged at a Roman Synod in 382, presents the perfect canon in the form which was dogmatically sanctioned at Trent in 1546.[2] The letter of Innocent I. to Exsuperius of Toulouse in 405 practically closed the discussion for the West.[3]

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[1] See the various hypotheses in Jacquier, *Histoire des Livres du N. Test.*, Paris, 1905; *cf.* Batiffol, *Six leçons sur l'Évangile, ib.*, 1897.

[2] Luther had thrown overboard He, Ja, Ju, Apoc; Zwingli, Apoc; Oecolampadius placed Ja, Ju, 2 Pe, 2 and 3 J in a lower rank.

[3] *Cf.* Reid, *Cath. Encycl.*, CANON; Gigot, *Gen. Introd. to N.T.*; Barry, *The Tradition of Scripture*, etc. etc. Students may consult Zahn, *Gesch. d. N.T. Kanons*, 1888–1892; Westcott, *Gen. Survey of Canon of N.T.*, 1889, ed. 6.

II. The Synoptists[1]

Jesus Christ taught His disciples a doctrine about God and man, and announced Himself as the Messiah. This doctrine involved ideas of God's Fatherhood; a New Life; a Kingdom and a King.

The Father.—Jesus said: No one fully knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son may will to reveal Him, M 11^{27}, L 10^{22}, *cf.* J 10^{15}. He claims thus a monopoly of Knowledge and of Revelation. Uniquely He proclaims God's *character*. In contemplating God's *nature*, Greek intuition flashed high, but kept its ideal pure only by making it aloof; almost alone, a narrow, fleeting phase of Isis-worship brought the vision of a motherhood personal, pure, and tender. And Plato and Seneca confessed their picture of the Father-God to be mythical; an anthropomorphic condescension to the unphilosophical mind.[2]

The Jews, with steady increase of purity, at first preached the one God, supremely other than the universe He made and governs. "My thoughts are not as your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith Yahweh. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts," Is $55^{9.10}$. Yet "there is no great nation that hath a God so nigh them as is our God Yahweh," Dt 4^{7}. For Yahweh is the nation's Father, as well as King and Judge. Pharaoh's eldest shall die, if "my son Israel" suffer, Ex $4^{22.23}$. Like a father, He carries the nation in his arms, Dt 1^{31}, and gathers it from afar, Jer 31^{8}, $3^{4.19}$, Dt 14^{1}, 32^{6}. But this is still *relationship* rather than character, even when the thought grows deeper, and He is the especial Father of the righteous in the nation, faithful even when Abraham and Israel forget their descendants, Is 63^{16}. He is, in the tenderest of

[1] The witness of St. John, later than that of the Synoptists, will be found *infra*, p. 17 *seq.*

[2] *Lectures*, xii. 14; xiv. 11, 20.

the Psalms, 68^{5}, 103^{13}, Father of the fatherless, and, "like as a father pitieth his children, so Yahweh pitieth them that fear him"; but only at the very end, the *individual* (Ecclus $23^{1,4}$) calls on God as the Lord, *Father*, and Master of my life.[1]

Jesus, in His first recorded sentence, speaks of His Father's house; in His last, He commends His soul into His Father's hands, L 2^{49}, 23^{46}. In His five recorded prayers (M 11^{25}, $26^{39,42}$, L $23^{34,46}$) He speaks to God as "Father," and bids us so speak: in speaking of God, He eliminates the reverent circumlocutions, *the Holy One*, etc., of the Synagogue, and the abstractions (the *Being*, *Reality*, etc.) of Hellenized Judaism—and says only *God* or *Father*—"Father" always, of His own relationship with God. From God, St. Paul will say, "all fatherhood on earth is named"; earthly love is but the reflection of the gentle, minute, constant generosity in gifts (M 7^{11}, Mk 11^{24}, L 11^{13}) of the heavenly Father who sees in secret, M 6^{3-8}, and feeds the birds, and clothes the flowers, and numbers the very hairs of His children's heads, *ib.* $^{26-30}$. All the tenderness of the Good Shepherd is first in that father who longs and watches for the prodigal's return, and "runs to meet him" while yet afar off, L 15^{20}. This patient love, stressed in the parables of the lost son, the lost sheep, the lost coin, can be trusted by Jesus for his very executioners, L 23^{34}. If, *e.g.*, M $5^{16,45}$, 6^{1-9}, God still seems pre-eminently Father of the elect, yet in St. John the universality of that Fatherhood is emphasized;[2] it transcends time and space, J 4^{21-23}. "Go unto my brethren," was Jesus' message for His apostles, J 20^{17}, "and say to them, I ascend to my Father and your Father, and my God and your God."

[1] In Judaic literature contemporary with and after Christ the idea fades. The Baptist does not mention it; the Septuagint already had softened down much of the concrete O.T. language, while the Jerusalem Talmud was to make of God merely a great Rabbi, barely grander than the Vergilian Jupiter, a magnified Roman Senator.

[2] The name Father occurs about ninety times in J, to 45 M, 17 L, and 5 Mk.

This unique revelation came perfect from the lips of Jesus. Paul can but repeat Jesus' own prayer, "Abba, Father!" Mk 14^{36}, Ro 8^{15}. As all antiquity had nothing to compare with this, so all the future would find nothing to add to it.

The NEW LIFE.—The new doctrine of God's Fatherhood meant a new sonship for man. God was brought near, but not lowered. Man, therefore, was raised to a position above all worlds, and that not as member of a race or nation, but as an *individual soul*. All religion will be, Living according to the fact of this sonship; it will be *reality*, conscience.[1]

At this time the individual conscience was practically forgotten or ignored. The aristocratic, half-sceptic *Sadducees*, opportunists bent on preserving their priestly privileges; the rigid *Pharisees* (separatists), observers of a minute and intolerable ritual "righteousness"; the *Scribes*, the moral theologians of Israel, ended by identifying all religion with exact knowledge and practice of ceremonial; motive, "intention," evaporated; merit accrued arithmetically to the observant; self-righteousness, hypocrisy, despair, or reliance on national privilege resulted. The partly paganized *Essenes* revolted into ascetic excess; enthusiasm ran in political channels only; the fanatic *Zealots* were ready for any savagery, be the Roman power but ousted. Still, apart from the Messianic expectation (p. 12), a current of spirituality among the learned, a strange literature of apocalyptic mysticism, and a leaven of souls gentle, pure, humble,[2] "looking for the consolation (or redemption) of Israel," L $2^{25, 38}$, preserved a certain receptivity of soul for the new life.

1. The *heart*, then, is the source of life, fair or foul, Mk 7^{21}; the tree of good fruit or bad, M 7^{17}, 12^{33};

[1] At once the lot of *children* is changed. They, too, are *souls* of infinite value. Jesus is indignant if they are not suffered to come to Him, Mk 10^{14}; death is better than to stain their innocence, 9^{41}; each is represented in the heavenly court, M 18^{10}. Their charm, pathos, possibilities, and (rarely) claim to reverence had touched the pagan: Christ gave them a position unique, and never forgotten since. He accepted, too, the services and raised the status of women, L 8^{1}, 10^{42}; *infra*, p. 29: the utter outcast—the prostitute and the loathed tax-collector—possess this essential dignity, M 21^{31}; to the poor the gospel is preached; the maimed, halt, and lame share in God's best.

[2] A beautiful and constant element in Jewish literature. Certain Pss (*e.g.*, 9, 10, 22, 25, 40, 69 Hebr) lead up to its sublimest expression in the Magnificat. *Parallel Psalter*, 1898, Gloss. *s.v.* Poor.

man's guiding light is within, 6^{22}; Jesus reads hearts, Mk 2^{8}; and God, who knows them, reverses human verdicts, L 16^{13}, seeing the corruption within the whited sepulchre, M 23^{27}; Jesus, who taught the evil thought, consented to, to be sin, M 5^{28}, explicitly substitutes, for the Pharisaic ideal of external righteousness, *ib.*^{20}, the essential perfection of the Father, *ib.*^{48}.

2. The pure heart *sees* God, M 5^{8}; so the son's life must be one of loving intercourse with his Father. Hence, if "religions are known by their prayers," this new life, which is religion, will be one long prayer; and in effect He says, pray without ceasing. Man's *habit of mind* should be expressible in the Our Father. To this prayer of the helpless, if it be but trustful, filial, all the Father's power responds; nature, material and spiritual, obeys it, Mk 11^{22}, 10^{29}, 4^{40}; L 18^{29}, 15^{5}. But if Jesus *assumes* the existence of the Father, and *reveals* the new relationship, so He assumes and insists on sin, and man's self-enslavement. "Mammon," the "world," self: to these tyrannies man bows himself; hence a doctrine of the possibility of "losing" the soul that not the whole world can buy back; of the duty of self-renunciation, lest there be endless separation from the Father. Individuals must abandon all, M 19^{21}, Mk 10^{21}, L 18^{22}. The rich as a class must tremble, Mk 10^{23}; parents and home may need to be forsaken, L 14^{26}, M 10^{37}; hand and foot cut off and eye plucked out for the Gospel's sake, M $5^{29, 30}$, L 14^{33}.[1] In fine, "if any one will come after me, let him deny himself, take up his cross daily, and follow me." Our accustomed ears can scarcely guess what that word "cross" meant to His shocked hearers!

3. Alas! is not this pessimism? hatred of beauty, enjoyment, society? As different as is the Christian *life* from Pagan or Pharisaic formalism,[2] and its serene simplicity from the excitement or *philosophism* of most heathen "interior" worship, so different is this

[1] Jesus refused to settle money disputes, L 12^{13}, *cf.* 18^{2}, M 5^{25}.
[2] Lect. xiii. 23..

Asceticism from the pessimism of Buddha,[1] from the apathy of the Stoic,[2] from the terrifying self-hatred of contemporary Essenism, and the austerity even of the Baptist, with whom friend and foe contrasted Christ's accessible, ordinary life, L 5^{29}, M 11^{18}. For what He takes He promises to restore a hundredfold, M 19^{29}, and appeals to experience that His promise is kept, L $22^{35, 36}$. And, indeed, sons of one Father are brothers; His central revelation has knit together the world (as never could Plato's fantastical community) into one family, M $23^{8, 9}$. Hence all life among men must be *mutual ministry in love*. Never, in the Old Testament inculcation of courtesy to stranger, Ex $23^{4, 9}$, of charity even, Dt 10^{18}, Is 58^{7}, have we the transcendent motive of God's Fatherhood, on whose mercy we must model ours, L $6^{32, 36}$, M $5^{45, 47}$. The enemy, the ingrate, nor alone, paganwise, the friend, must experience our love, *ib.*, our generosity, M 5^{42}, and our forgiveness, L 6^{29}; it will be a joy to receive no reward, L 6^{30}, 14^{12-14}; so far from challenging God's judgement by ourselves judging hardly, L 6^{41}, *cf.* J 8^{3-11}, man's greatness shall be his voluntary servanthood, M 23^{11}, 18^{4}, Mk 9^{41}; and his eternal royalty near God, due to his service of the least of these his little ones, M 25^{40}.

4. Jesus identified Himself with no political or social system, and hence some reformers of our day can find no use for Christianity. Yet He spoke so strongly against lies, injustice, the cruelty of caste, the insolence of wealth, that He has been claimed as a demagogue, a revolutionary. In reality He announced ideals and principles of brotherhood more potent than the subtlest economies of Greece and the splendid natural justice even of Roman law. His spirit was to transmute the good to a higher goodness, and noiselessly to eliminate, not shatter, what was bad. Thus He did not dislocate society by demanding the instant abolition of slavery; yet in

[1] Lect. iv. 12. [2] Lect. xiv. 18.

Christianity the slave's lot first became sweetened, and then insensibly gave way to free service. He preached no Art, yet all our culture is built up round His ideals. What is Cæsar's must still be given to Cæsar; but the State is no mere *parallel* to God, still less a divorced antagonist: yet an ultimate homage, a fundamental worship belongs to God, and even in acts of obedience to the State must be passed on to Him. Thus all societies, all polities are tolerable, if in them men are free to remember they are all *brothers, sons of one Father.* Where they cannot, Cæsar learns that Christ came to kindle fire and send a sword. "Every man for himself," "The weakest to the wall," are mottoes of anarchy and tyranny essentially opposed to His new world. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God."[1]

The KINGDOM.—Jesus spoke much of a Kingdom. To announce it is His constant work, Mk 1^{14}, M 4^{17}, to which He is expressly *sent*, L 4^{43}, and sends His disciples, *ib.*, 9^{2}, 10^{9}, and with it Luke simply identifies the Gospel, 8^{1}, 10^{16}.

The Jews had always looked forward to a Kingdom, centred at Jerusalem, where Yahweh, or a king of David's line, should reign, the Gentiles being converted, or subservient, or destroyed. Their history of disaster inflamed, and in part spiritualized, this hope. After the great vision in Daniel 7 the pre-exilic connection of the theocracy (*cf.* Is 24–27) with eschatology was accentuated; the coming of the Kingdom implied the vindication of God's justice, the renewal of the world, and, gradually, the Resurrection. Through the Apocalyptic literature—Enoch, IV. Esdras, the Sibylline Oracles—the vision passes, sometimes grand, often fantastic. The Palestinian writers, *e.g.*, the Pharisaic *Psalms of Solomon* (especially No. 7), groaning beneath Rome, tended to hymn God's *vengeance* on the Gentiles; Alexandrian, half-Hellenized Judaism dwelt on their absorption. For the Baptist, the coming kingdom is denationalized, but still eschatological, L 3^{17}; Gabriel, Zachary, Simeon still use "national" formulæ; to the very end the Apostles (Ac 1^{6}) cannot shake off the vision of national triumph. Of this there is *nothing* in Christ's preaching, though He starts from a formula identical with John's, M 3^{2}, Mk 1^{15}. What, then, is His doctrine of the Kingdom?

[1] *Cf.* Lect. xxiv. 24.

In its most generalized expression, the *triumph of God in souls.*[1]

To be consummated in heaven, M 13^{43}, 25^{34} (*cf.* Wisd. 10^{10}, 5^{14}, etc.), whither from all the world the elect shall come to join the glory of the Patriarchs, L 13^{28}, it yet begins forthwith; repentance, M 4^{17}, renunciation of pride of place, 19^{23}, and of intellect, 18^{3}, sincere obedience, 5^{20}, 7^{21}, prepare the soul for it; it is a hidden treasure, or a pearl, M 13^{44}, for which all else were well sacrificed; in hearts thus ready, God sows His seed; silently (notice Mark's exquisite picture, 4^{26-29}, and Luke's better known parable, c. 8) it develops as of itself; it is a leaven that works, L 13^{21}; man marks not its coming—stares this way and that to find it, and lo! it is *already near* him, nay, *in* him, L 10^{9}, 17^{20}.

This new Kingdom, preached since John, L 16^{16}, yearned after vainly by prophets and saints of old, M 13^{16}, is God's free gift to Jesus' "little flock," L 12^{32}, to the simple, 10^{21}, to whom He is *pleased* to offer it. The master of the vineyard dispenses his riches when and as he wills, M 20^{1-16}. Yet He is resisted: the tyranny of Pharisaism (M 23^{13}) locks its gates; the domination of Satan and of Sin defy God's reign. But Jesus sees Lucifer fall like lightning from heaven, L 10^{18}; not by the slow Jewish incantations, but by one word Jesus expels him from citadel after citadel in men's hearts, Mk 1^{21-28}, L 11^{14-16}; with this tyrant's fall the chains of sin are snapped, M 9^{1-8}; the new reign is liberty.[2] And for this very reason it

[1] Mk and L always write The K. of God; M, except 12^{28}, $21^{31, 43}$, The K. of the Heavens. But this (Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 53) is a mere Hebraism for the same. Moreover, מלכות certainly means *reign* rather than *Kingdom*, though obviously it connotes this.

[2] Though Jesus confined his own, and, at first, his emissaries' mission to the chosen people, with their right of precedence (M 10^{5}, 9^{37}; L 10^{1}), yet there is no doubt of His universalism. "The field is the *world*" (Mk 13^{37}); the sower's cast must be as wide. The disciples are the salt, the light of the *world* (M 5^{13}). "In the whole world" the gospel must be preached (Mk 14^{9}, M 10^{18}). Jesus Himself admits the pagan centurion, the pagan Canaanitish woman, to the Kingdom; all the birds of the air shall find shelter in the tiny seed grown a great tree.

is forced on none; the invitation may be neglected, M 22^{8}, L 15^{15}; pearls are not for swine, M 7^{6}, *cf.* Mk 6^{11}; to the end Jerusalem refuses the brooding wings of her Saviour, L 13^{34}.

This Kingdom, then—both visible and invisible; a gift, yet a prize; initiated in Palestine, yet to be spread through the world and consummated in heaven—expresses itself in a Society; it is a drag-net containing good and bad, a field where tares grow with the wheat. From Augustine onwards the Kingdom has been equated with the Church. It is, rather, the spiritual force which incarnates, clothes itself, in the Church. To the "flock," the Kingdom is *given*, L 12^{32}. But there *is* a flock, and Jesus is its Shepherd, Mk 14^{27}. Of the twelve that are its nucleus and shall be its governors, one is made and solemnly named *first*. He will succeed Jesus as chief shepherd, *cf.* J 21^{15-17}; to him are given the keys of the Kingdom, M 16^{19}; his laws are sanctioned in eternity, *ib.*, *cf.* 18^{18}; he is appointed to make stable his brethren when Satan aims at shattering their unity, L 22^{31}; he, by his declaration of *the truth about Jesus*, is the rock on which the Church is to be built amid the shifting quicksands of opinion, M 16^{18}. The gates of Sheol, Satan and Sin, cannot prevail against this house that falleth not, for it was founded on a rock, M 7^{25}.[1]

We will not discuss the vexed critical question of Jesus' eschatological horizon. He spoke of the destruction of Jerusalem, the progress of His Church, the end of the world. It seems clear that the Synoptists, Mk 13^{1-31}, M 24^{1-35}, L 21^{5-33}, on grounds of verbal similarity rather than of essential import, combine into one discourse *logia* upon each of these topics. Yet while O.T. phraseology is closely interwoven with His own[2] (Mk 13^{14}

[1] Critics have often failed to notice the wholly Judaic character of the Petrine *logia*. M 16^{19} must be compared with L 11^{52}. "To bind and to loose" is a Rabbinic formula = "to forbid and permit." In Aramaic Jesus had only the word *Cephas*, so in M 16^{18} no distinction can be based on the Greek *πέτρος* = Peter, *πέτρα* = rock.

[2] *Cf.* Is 13^{4}, 19^{1-2}, 13^{13}; Dn 12^{1-11}, 13^{9-10}, etc.

suggests almost a Biblical *paraphrase* of His words), Jesus completely emancipates His doctrine of the judgement from the nationalism which in the O.T. and Apocalyptists made of The Day of Yahweh a triumph for the Jews. The Judgement, like the Kingdom, is now on a basis of *righteousness*, M 16^{27}, etc. The features Jesus insists on are the unexpectedness of the disaster, M 25^{1-13}, L 13^{25}. That many of His hearers believed the "Parousia" to be imminent does not prove that He did, just as their views on the Kingdom are no key to His.[1] But Jesus' doctrine of the future universal development of the Kingdom (*supra*, p. 10, n. 2), His explanation of the parables of the Mustard Seed, Leaven, Grain (which grows even in the absence of the sower, Mk 4^{28}), His directions to the Apostles, M 10^{16-21}, His prophecy of the day of the Coming of the Spouse, M 25^{1-13}, of the Return of the King who had gone to seek confirmation of his rule, L 19^{11-27} (see on this Cyril of Alexandria, Migne, *P.G.*, 72^{870}), contain the elements of the solution.

The KING.—Almost to the end, opinion hesitated about Jesus. At home, He seemed mad, M 13^{54}, Mk 6^{4}, *cf. ib.* 3^{21}, J 10^{20}; abroad, a "prophet"—Elias, Jeremias, John, M 16^{14}, 21^{10}, L 9^{19}, 24^{19}. As what did He present Himself?

Contemporary expectation of a Messiah was vivid, notions of His character quite vague. Normally, though, he was looked for as national hero and liberator. This rumoured hope reached even Rome (Tacitus, Suetonius). Hence, doubtless to avoid base acclamation, Jesus *accepts* the title *Christ* (=Anointed=Messiah), yet never uses it of Himself, forbids its use in public, freely admits it only when death is certain, J 4^{26}, M 16^{13}, Mk 14^{61}, 8^{30}, L 9^{21}. Yet the Davidic King had definitely emerged (*e.g.*, in Is $9^{6,7}$ and all his "Emmanuel" prophecies) as supernatural; and Daniel (7) had seen the ruin of the empires of Babylon, Media, Alexander, and the Seleucids (symbolized by lion, bear, leopard, and ten-horned monster), followed by the cloud-borne vision of a human shape "like to a son of man," whose kingdom was to be everlasting. Be this directly only the theocracy, yet it *implies* the personal Messiah, if only because to the Oriental the Kingdom is normally the King's "extended self"; and this quite probably "canonized" the title "Son of Man" as Messianic. Anyhow the title so recurs in *Enoch* (37^{71}), written

[1] The difficult texts are Mk 8^{39}, M 16^{28}, L 9^{27}: M 24^{34}, L 21^{32}: Mk 14^{62}, M 26^{64}. *Cf.* Lagrange, *Revue Biblique*, 1906, 382, 561; Mangenot, *Rev. du Clergé Français*, 1908, p. 717; Durand, *Rev. Pratique d'Apologétique*, 1908, p. 862.

about the Christian era, in emphatic connection, we are safe in saying, with the Messiah as Judge.[1]

1. Jesus alone, but He very frequently, uses this title of Himself, and in two chief connections—either where on the Last Day he comes on the clouds to judgement, M 24^{30}, 26^{64}; sits on His throne of glory, the Twelve around Him, M 19^{28}, 25^{31}; sends forth His angel-reapers, 13^{41} (even on earth He can forgive sins, Mk 2^{10}, and is lord of the Sabbath, 2^{28})—and this we should expect: or where He emphasizes His human conditions of life and death; He is homeless, M 8^{20}, a servant, Mk 10^{45}; His "baptism" and "chalice" imply ignominy, suffering, and death, Mk 9^{31}, $10^{33, 45}$, M 8^{20}, L 19^{10};—and this wholly disconcerted the Jews. They even failed at times to realize that this ambiguous[2] title was Messianic, so utterly had Jesus spiritualized it, and so wholly had the "Suffering Servant" (*cf.* Is 53) disappeared from their thoughts.

2. We may glance aside, for a moment, to this death. We saw that Jesus assumes the existence and inestimable value of the individual soul, its possible loss *(irreparable by man)* through sin. *He* must be feared who can slay both body and soul in Gehenna, L 12^{4}, M 10^{28}, Mk 8^{36}. "I," said Jesus, "am come to seek and to save that which was lost, L 19^{10}; to

[1] But its doubtful date reduces its value as an explanation of Daniel; *cf.* Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 194, 1900.

[2] It remains that Jesus uses this phrase as an *incommunicable name* = "I." Its earlier uses had no *absolute* value, by which we must define His meaning. They form the starting-point, not goal, of its development. In Hebrew "son of man" means simply "man," Is 51^{12}, Jer 49^{18}, Ps 8^{4}, etc. Ezekiel is constantly so called, 17^{1}, etc., as though to emphasize his low estate in view of his high vocation. It seems at least possible that Jesus chose the less startling title partly because of its insistence on His place *as* man; the reality of His servanthood; His self-emptying, as Paul will say, and His consequent exaltation. But the young Church, which had to insist on His divinity, will have omitted a title grown meaningless, and indeed misleading to pagan converts in its Greek form. The Synoptists do not dare to alter a stereotyped phrase, and certainly Jesus' own. But we do not pretend to solve one of the most vexed questions of the N.T.

minister, not to be ministered unto; to give my life for the ransom of many," Mk 10^{45}.[1] His death is a ransom, then, an integral part of His Messiah-life of *service*. And it is foreordained: again and again He says "the Son of Man *must* suffer,"[2] Mk 8^{31}; and yet the acceptance is voluntary: He is straitened till all be accomplished. And the Last Supper—a funeral repast, anticipated, as was the Unction at Bethany—gathers into itself all the ordinances and memories of sacrifice, especially of Ex 24^{4-8}, where the shedding of blood inaugurated the great Covenant between reconciled God and man. Though only Matthew mentions that the blood is being shed "for the remission of sins," 26^{28}, yet all three Evangelists and Paul recognize in the drinking of this blood the Sealing of the New Covenant, as the sprinkling of the sacrificial blood had ratified the old. The theology of the Ep. to the Hebrews, sacrificial throughout, adds nothing to this, nor St. Paul, when he insists we are redeemed by the death, Ro 5^{10}, the cross, Eph 2^{16}, the blood, Col 1^{20}, of Jesus. The Meal, then, and the Death are sacrificial, and to the Cross lead up all the avenues of hope and rite and promises of the centuries. For, that Messianic banquet, foreshadowed in Is 25^{6}, spiritualized and applied to the eating and drinking of Wisdom in Ecclus 24^{19-21}, *cf.* Wisd. 16^{20} (Philo constantly identifies the *Manna* with the Word, *infra*, p. 22), reflected in L 14^{15}, M 8^{11}, etc., and hinted in the meditation of J 6, is fulfilled in this Meal, where the communion with God and fellow-men is brought about by participating in the Flesh and Blood of the atoning Victim, 1 Co 10^{4}, 11^{24}.

3. The *Son of Man* is also *Son of God*.

[1] *Many* is a Græcism for *all*. Λύτρον is regularly in O.T. LXX. a "ransom"; *e.g.*, of a field, Lv $25^{24, 51}$, a slave, 19^{20}, a captive, Is 45^{13}, from death, Nu 35^{31}, Ex 21^{30}, Pr 13^{8}. In Ro 3^{24} ἀπολύτρωσις is parallel to the word ἱλαστήριον, "propitiation"; is certainly sacrificial, and λύτρον should be so treated here. *Cf.* p. 26, n. 1.

[2] In Gk., δεῖ: a "logical connection" is indicated; not a mere *duty* (ὤφελει), nor a *fitness* (ἔπρεπε).

This term is common in O.T. of persons especially favoured by God: angels, Gn $6^{2,4}$, Job 1^{6}, 2^{1}; magistrates, Ps 82^{6}; Israel constantly, Dt 14^{1}, Ex 6^{22}; normally of the King, 2 Sa 7^{14}, Ps 2^{7}, 89^{26}, as God's chosen and anointed. *A fortiori* the Messiah was such, and of Him some of the above passages were quoted. Yet in Jesus' time the Messiah was normally expected as human. All, even Mary, L 1^{32-4}, allotted to Him a human father. Hence we cannot prove, though we may at times be sure of, more than a Messianic application when this title is given to Jesus *by contemporaries—e.g.*, by John, Mk 1^{11}; demons (at the Temptation, "Son of God" is for the Tempter merely = Messiah as Thaumaturge), Mk 3^{11}, 5^{7}, L $4^{3,41}$; the centurion, M 27^{54}; the disciples, M 14^{33}; Peter, M 16^{16} [Mk and L read "the Christ (of God)"]; the crowd, M 27^{40}. The Sanhedrin, however, for whom it was obviously equivalent to Messiah and Son of Man, regard Jesus' use of it as "blasphemy"; Mk 14^{61}, M 26^{63}, L 22^{70}; *cf.* J 5^{18}, 10^{33}, etc.[1] But however we appreciate these varying testimonies, *Jesus' meaning is certain and unique.*

No one fails to recognize the difference of tone—reverent equality replaces affectionate subordination—between Jesus' use of "my Father" (M 7^{21}, 10^{33}, 11^{27}, etc.), His witness to Himself as *the* Son, and His generalization of Fatherhood and sonship in favour of men. No one doubts this. In the mysterious text Mk 13^{32}, M 24^{36}, He exalts Himself so high that the angels are between Him and men. In the vineyard parable, M 21^{33}, He is the only son and heir, *cf.* 22^{2}; His is the *exclusive* and *comprehensive* claim to all the Father has; every prophet is the servant, as of the Father, so of Himself; His own mission is a deliberate condescension. Above all, He proclaims in His superb prayer, M 11^{27}, L 10^{22} (placed rightly

[1] The Voices at Baptism (Mk 1^{11}) and Transfiguration (9^{7}) bear to the Christian a transcendent signification. In many of these cases we have the *intuitions* of a dawning faith.

by Luke after the vision of Lucifer's fall), "All things are given over to me by my Father, and no one fully knoweth the Son save the Father, nor doth any one fully know the Father save the Son." This has been called "an aerolite from the skies of John." Not because He is Messiah is Jesus Son of God. The formula is reversed. Because He is essentially, pre-existently, Son of God, because His knowledge and the Father's reciprocate, the Messianic office is given to Him, and He alone can reveal the Father, whose Son He is. In this text we see, not deduce, the identity of Synoptic doctrine with Paul's and John's. And notice, Paul's epistles (in which none disputes, not even in the earliest, *i.e.*, 1 and 2 Thess., the full, explicit assertion of the absolute transcendent filiation) preceded the composition of the Gospels. Yet Mark, who wrote under Peter at Rome, and must have known Paul's letters in general, and *Romans* in particular, and Luke, who was constantly with Paul himself, evidently saw no divergence between Paul's Christology and that of the first tradition they perpetuated. Paul constantly asserts he only repeats what he has learnt; the older Apostles find no fault with him; the unequivocal and universal faith of the early Church necessarily supposes that the *meaning of Jesus* about Himself, however variously interpreted, was that He was in essence Son of God, and Himself God.

We have then His revelation: that God is a Father; men, His sons; their life is one, therefore, of sublime destiny, and loving service of brotherhood; to them, too, belongs a kingdom, and they to it, expressed in a visible society in which Peter continues the governorship of Jesus the Founder—Jesus, man, Messiah, and Son of God, who by His infinitely precious death pays the debt of sin, and, in the feast of His flesh and blood, reunites all into God.

Yet have we not, in our effort to set out coherently these "organic ideas" of the Gospels, sacrificed just

that which makes them so indescribably meaningful alike to child and learned—the tender mystery transfiguring the manger of Bethlehem; the blue lake; Olivet, Gethsamani, Emmaus; the majesty, serenity irony, simplicity of the language—all, in short, which makes their *personality*?

For the Gospels are *Jesus*. He came not chiefly to offer us a system of ideas, a scheme of motives, but *Himself*. "Ye have read in the law . . . . *but I* say unto you." "If any man will *come after Me* . . . ." So we will end with the invitation, unique for human sympathy and divine authority, to which—now that the old oracles are dumb, and the whole pagan Pantheon helps us not at all—millions of souls still respond as personal and cogent: "Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden and I will refresh you: take my yoke upon you and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart, and ye shall find rest for your souls" (M 11^{28-29}).

III. Paul and John

"Paul is the Teacher of teachers, and for long centuries the Christian world has thought with his thoughts. It is notorious that the theology of Augustine, and through him of Aquinas, and through Aquinas all scholasticism, descend in direct line from Paul; while in the East, Chrysostom made him so entirely his own that later Greek writers, despairing of further advance, practically confine themselves to transcribing or condensing him."[1]

An Asia-born Roman citizen, saturated with the Greek Septuagint and Sapiential literature, Paul is yet essentially a "Hebrew, son of Hebrews," Ph 3^{5}; "a Pharisee, son of Pharisees," Ac 23^{6}; educated from boyhood upwards "at the feet of Gamaliel" of Jerusalem. A rigid Pharisee, Ac 22^{3}, 26^{5}, Ph 3^{6}, his whole method preserves the stamp of his

[1] *Théologie de S. Paul*, F. Prat, S.J., Paris, 1908. An invaluable book, of which Catholic literature may be proud.

rabbinic training. The spiritual crash of his conversion annihilates not one of his human characteristics. Only, every force of this stormy and indomitable, yet exquisitely sensitive nature converges now upon the Jesus who appeared to him. "In Christ Jesus" will be his motto.[1] "To me to live is Christ," Ph 1^{21}.

Doubtless contemporary foes—Jews; judaizing Christians who insisted on the retention of the Law, or confused the Gospel with doctrines of false asceticism, superstitious ritual, or mythology, systems of mediators between God and man, of whom Christ was but one—the seed plot, later, of genuine Gnosticism—occasioned and coloured parts of Paul's writings. Yet he lived, not to combat; but to propagate what he calls the Great Mystery, *his* Gospel—the eternally decreed Salvation of all men without distinction by their "recapitulation" into Christ, Eph 1^{10}, *cf.* 1 Co 2^{7}, Ro 16^{25}, Eph 3^{8-9}, Col 1^{24}. We shall therefore outline *only* his doctrine of Christ; of the way of man's gathering into Him; of the mystic body resulting, which is the Church.

John's personality is simpler. Old age, when he wrote, had fused his fiery temperament into one steady glow of intense life. Purely Palestinian, and steeped, too, in Apocalyptic and Sapiential literature, he is less influenced than might have been expected by living where he heard current philosophies discussed, and by his adoption of part of their terminology for his own ends. Contemporary disputes—*e.g.*, with Cerinthus, nascent Gnosticism, Docetic tendencies to deny to Christ a real humanity—doubtless occasion isolated details in his writings; yet the Gospel, at any rate, is "the utterance of one of those rare souls who speak with timeless voice to the permanent needs of man" (Drummond). From the ground of historical fact, he soars straightway like an eagle to the contemplation of heavenly glories; and while Paul amazes and enflames, John uplifts, yet calms, the soul: Paul cries aloud; dazzles and is dazzled: John's is the pure eye

[1] 164 times in P; never in He, Ja, Ju, 2 Pe, Synoptists.

that steadily watches God; and his voice, though it has echoes of the thunder of "many waters," is peaceful and serene.

CHRISTOLOGY.—A. In the first verse of Paul's earliest letter (1 Th; 51 A.D.), written some 25 years after the Crucifixion, and before the Gospels themselves, a complete "theology" of the Incarnation is *assumed*. The Lord Jesus Christ[1] is set at the side of God the Father, *cf.* 2^{14}, 4^{16}, and the Church exists "in" Him. That this astounding dogma can thus quietly be *presupposed* in all Paul's writings, is the strongest of arguments that it was realized as essential from the first.[2]

Indeed, almost incidentally, in an exhortation, Paul can sublimely declare the triple life of the Son pre-existent, humiliated, and glorified.

"Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who, being from the outset [=because He was . . .] in the form of God, deemed not the being on an equality with God a thing to be snatched at [or clung to; as though a temporary abandonment of equality of treatment might entail essential loss of position], but emptied Himself [by] taking the form of a slave and becoming in the likeness of men; and being recognized by His fashion [*i.e.*, exterior] as man, humbled Himself [further] by becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross. Wherefore God hath utterly exalted Him," etc., Ph 2^{5-11}.[3]

As real as was the "form" of His manhood, so real was that of His pre-existing Godhood: precisely *because* He was essentially God, He deserved identical treatment with God, and thus His amazing condescension becomes our example. A marvellous passage (Col. 1^{15-20}) reveals the Son to us as the Image, the exact self-expression of God the Invisible; and as existing

[1] "Lord," not Rabbi; but the risen and ascended Sovereign: "Christ," already practically a surname (Sanday).

[2] Christ is thus joined with Father and Spirit in a divine relation, 2 Th 1^{1}, 1 Co 6 (*passim*), 2 Co 13^{13}, Ga 2^{20}, Ph 1^{21}, Col 3^{4}, etc., etc.

[3] We have no space to defend technicalities of translation and exegesis. *Cf.* Lightfoot, *Philippians* [15], London, 1900, p. 127–133. Prat, *op. c.*, 438–451, especially n. V. p. 445. Gifford, *The Incarnation, A Study of Philippians* 2^{5-11}, 1897.

before all Creation, of which He is the Efficient Cause, the Final Cause, and the conserving, unitive Force. "All things are *through* Him, and *for* Him, and *in* him."[1] We may add the sublime Christology of *Hebrews* 1^{1-3}, where we are told how God, after the fragmentary and sporadic revelations through the prophets, has summed up His Revelation in a Son, whom He established heir of all things, through whom He made the ages. Again, Incarnation, Glorification, Pre-existence. Further, this Effulgence of His Glory [*cf.* Wisd. 7^{26}: the ray of light is itself light, "light of (=from) light"], the Impress of His Substance [stamp exactly corresponding to seal], upholding all by the word of His power, "having accomplished the purification from sins, sat down on the right of the Majesty aloft."[2]

B.[3] The Incarnation of the Word of God is John's essential dogma. It is the test of the Christian: to deny it is Antichrist, ep. i. 2^{22}, 4^{2}, 5^{1-12}, ii.$^{7-11}$: it is John's personal, unforgettable experience, i. 1^{1-4}; it is the serene assertion of the Prologue to his Evangel.

[1] Twice this is asserted; of the pre-existing ($^{15-18}$), and of the incarnate, Son ($^{19, 20}$). Notice that the same trilogy occurs Ro 11^{36} of the Father.

[2] We may point out how here, as in the Synoptists, the Sonship is one not of adoption, still less consequent on the Miraculous Conception, but of pre-existent identity of nature. We may here refer to Durand, *Évangile de l'Enfance*, Paris, 1908, for a discussion of the Virgin Birth.

[3] Clearly we cannot trace here the history of the Platonized Judaism taught by Philo (fl. 40 A.D.) of Alexandria, from whom J may have borrowed the term *Logos* or Word. This expression was a commonplace in very different systems. It could signify the outward expression of a mind; the externalization of an idea; in this sense it drew nearer to the Jewish *Wisdom*, and the gradual all-but personification of God's Word in O.T.; *cf.* Gn 1, Ps 33^{6}, 147^{15}, to Prov, Job, Wisdom, Ecclus. It could also mean the plan, definition, underlying notion of a thing, and here was at the opposite pole to personification. Philo's doctrine, eclectic and heterogeneous as it was, could admit of no *personification* of the Logos; *a fortiori* of no incarnation. J's style, vocabulary, aim (*sc.* not a system, but a stimulus), are un-Philonic. Curiously, J never (in his Gospel) uses the word "*Wisdom*," dear to Philo. Réville, Aall, Grill, who insist on interconnection, are definitely being abandoned. Hackspill, *Revue Bibl.*, 1902, p. 58; Lebreton, *Études*, cvi. p. 54, etc., 1906 (important); Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, 1888; Schürer, *Geschichte*, etc., iii. 544, for bibliography.

God, John says, *is* Spirit, *is* Light, *is* Love (4^{24}, ep. i. 1^5, $4^{8, 16}$). As such, He is essentially contrasted with what John terms the Flesh, Darkness, and the World. Doubtless the *Cosmos* is with him sometimes just "created order" (1^9); but in practice he views it as the complexus of material and spiritual forces which make against God. It hates, 15^{18}; it rebels, i. 3^{1-4}; it is the antithesis of God, 8^{23}, 17^6, 18^{36}; it is wholly settled in the Evil One; it has a Ruler whose "hour" is the power of Darkness, 12^{31}, 14^{30}, *cf.* i. 2^{8-11}. But God *loves* this World, 3^{16}; the Light shines in this Darkness; the Word was made Flesh, who Himself was, "in the beginning," *with* God, and *was* God, 1^1; who is the eradiation of the Light, 1^{16}, in whom is Life.[1]

The Father is thus the Source of One distinct from, yet identical in nature with Himself: while the Father can "send" the Son, $5^{19, 26, 36}$, 3^{16}, 8^{26}, etc., yet the Son can say, "I and the Father are *one thing*," 10^{30}, 17^{11-22}. From the glory He shared with the Father "before the world was," the Son proceeds, to it He returns, 17^5, yet ever the Father remains in Him, and He in the Father, 8^{19}, 14^{10}. The mystery of "circumincession," as theologians will term it, is stated here: "all My things are Thine and Thine are Mine," 17^{10}; and "whoso hath seen Me hath seen the Father," 14^9, 8^{19}. In this way the Father, through the Incarnate Word, is brought into the union with souls which is Redemption and Grace. For, the unity between Himself and the redeemed, Jesus can only compare (17^{11-23}) to that between Himself and the Father.[2]

GRACE AND REDEMPTION.—John and Paul taught that by God's free gift, through the expiating death

[1] J uses *life* in this sublime and technical sense 36 times, M 7, Mk 4, L 4. We feel acutely the jejuneness, which lack of space renders inevitable, of our treatment of the N.T. doctrine of Spirit, World, and Flesh. But *cf.* Prat, pp. 322–326, 328, n. N. 2; *infr.*, pp. 22, 30.

[2] We should feel ourselves almost guilty for making this rude chart, as it were, of John's living Gospel were we not sure that our readers would return again and again to that complete discourse and prayer of Jesus (14–17) which has been comfort in loneliness, and strength and peace amid the complexity of the world, for generation after generation.

of Christ, man was transferred from a state of sin into one, not of mere natural innocence, but of an ineffable union with God, rooted and inchoate already in his faith, but to be consummated only in heaven. Paul's doctrine here, more developed than John's, leads so directly to that of the Church that we shall place it second.

A. We spoke above of John's doctrine of the World. It is thence the new life lifts man:—truth for falsehood, light for darkness, spirit for flesh, death for life, i. $3^{6,14}$, 2^{9}, 3^{24},—his writings are one long antithesis of new to old. Though man be free to take or to reject, 5^{40}, 10^{37}, yet not by his effort or merit can the life be entered upon. *Before* we believe, we must be of God, 8^{47}, and of his sheep, 10^{26}: "No man can come unto Me unless the Father draw him," 6^{44}, 8^{43}, even as, "no one cometh to the Father save through Me." In three startling allegories and unforgettable scenes —the midnight conference with Nicodemus; the lake-side synagogue, whose ruins still lie white in the long grass; the Supper-room so near Calvary—John pictures the whole process.

1. So real and new is this life, Jesus assures the bewildered old man, that it exacts as real a re-birth as though a man should enter anew his mother's womb; invisible is the spiritual re-birth, but in power, even as the viewless wind is irresistible. Its condition is Faith, 3^{15}, *cf.* 6^{29}, 8^{23}, with which John, like Paul, couples its necessary instrument or expression, Baptism, 3^{5}. Re-born by the Spirit, the new man is nourished by Christ's own life. The patriarchs ate bread from heaven, the manna, and died. Jesus is the true bread from heaven, 6^{32}, the bread of life, ^{35}, to be eaten by Faith, a pledge of resurrection and of eternal life, ^{40}. "Amen, amen, I say to you, he that believeth *hath* eternal life," ^{47}. For, this is communion with the sacrificial Victim, seeing that "the bread which I shall give for the life of the world is my flesh," ^{51}.

No one but sees here a reference to Christ's death, *cf.* i. 3^{16}. Throughout the Apocalypse (5^{9}, 14^{4}, 7^{14}, 22^{14}, etc.) as in the Gospel

($1^{29, 36}$), shines the vision of the sacrificed Lamb, *standing* though slain, in whose blood the Saints wash their robes white. He loves us and washes us from our sins in his blood, Ap 1^{5}: "the blood of Jesus Christ cleanses us from all sin," i. 1^{7}, God having "given Him to be the propitiation for our sins," i. 4^{10}, "a propitiation not for ours only, but for those of the whole world," i. 2^{2}.[1]

But the flesh nailed to the Cross must be eaten in the Eucharist, as, with relentless realism, Jesus assures the almost horror-struck listeners. "If ye eat not the flesh of the Son of Man nor drink His blood, ye have not life in you. . . . He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life . . . for My flesh is true food, and My blood is true drink. He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood remaineth in Me and I in him. As the Father sent me, the living Father, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth Me shall live by Me," $^{53-57}$.[2]

2. In His last instruction Jesus resumes the old Jewish image of the Vine (c. 15); but here *He* is the Vine, His disciples the branches. His life circulates in them; "without Me ye can do nothing," ^{5}. They are organically one with Him, and He with them. From no deduction does Jesus shrink. The measure of their knowledge is what He knows from the Father, 16^{15}; of His love for them, the love of the Father for Him, 15^{9}. He prays that they may be one, *as* He and the Father are one, 17^{11}; that "as Thou art in Me and I in Thee, so they may be in Us, ^{21} . . . . *one thing*, as We are one thing, I in them and they in Me, that they be made complete into one," ^{23}. What have we

[1] "Propitiation" = ἱλασμὸς: *cf. infra*, p. 26 n. 1, and Lect. xx. 29.

[2] It is strange how modern critics are now for seeing the Eucharist not only preached in the whole of this discourse, but symbolized in the Feeding of the 5000 immediately preceding. This violent reaction neither need nor can be followed. John can thus allude, with characteristic lightness of touch, to Baptism, Passion, and Eucharist, partly because of the prevalent doctrine and even liturgy of his day (which would ensure immediate apprehension), partly through his tendency to contemplate, rather than state, earthly facts as caught up into the divine system where they belong. Compare throughout the discourse on the *Bread of Life* with that on the *Water of Life*, spoken by Jacob's well. The Life there is a Fountain, leaping upward till the soul brim and never thirst again, 4^{14}, *cf.* 7^{38}. *Cf.* again the *Light of Life*, 8^{12}, see 3^{14}, 5^{31}.

here but a new mode of being; a divine filiation: to be achieved, if unaided, by none, 6^{44}, yet offered to all, $1^{12, 16}$, 3^{15}, 11^{52}; entered upon and already possessed by faith—"he who believeth *hath* eternal life," 3^{36}, 6^{47-54}, yet to be consummated hereafter, for "it hath not yet appeared what we shall be," i. 3^{2}, *cf.* ev. 11^{25}, 8^{12}; and above all, *real*—the divine unction remains upon us, i. 2^{27}, the divine seed within us, i. 3^{9}: God has so loved us that we may be called the children of God, and such we are, i. 3^{1}.

B. "While we were yet sinners Christ died for us . . . . being enemies we have been reconciled with God through the death of His Son," Ro 5^{8-10}. Paul, says Harnack, "epitomizes the Gospel in the message of Christ crucified." "I judged not myself to know aught among you save Christ and Him crucified," 1 Co 2^{2}.

1. If Christ *assumed* sin (p. 7), Paul visualized it. It plays the King, Ro 5^{21}; has slaves, 6^{17-21}; is a General who pays death [23] as wages to the enemies of God, Ro 5^{10}, etc. The world, Jew as Gentile, is its thrall: Paul paints (Ro 1^{18}, 2) a ghastly picture of the double ruin, *cf.* Ga 2^{15-17}, Eph 2^{1-12}. Whence spread the infection? From the sin, he says, of Adam.

Barely hinted in the O.T., Original Sin was taught by at least one contemporary school. *IV Esdras*, *c.* 90 A.D., exclaims: "O thou, what hast thou done, Adam? For thine was the sin, yet not thine alone the fall, but ours," 7^{43}, *cf.* 3^{7-21}; the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, *c.* 70 A.D., but probably composite (*e.g.*, 54^{17}: "Each man is the Adam of his own soul," seems explicitly anti-Pauline), pictures a black flood issuing from Adam's disobedience, inundating the world, 56^{6}, *cf.* 17^{3}, 23^{4}, 48^{47}. It was generally admitted that Adam's sin universally hastened and intensified, if not created, Death and man's innate tendency to sin.

Paul emphasizes this. By one man sin came into the world, and by sin, death; and so death spread through all men, because all have sinned. By one sin, many died; by the disobedience of the one, the many were constituted sinners, Ro 5^{12-18}.[1]

[1] He will not assign the essence of this first sin, tell how it reaches us, is imputable as ours. That it was a privation of original justice,

2. How reach justification? By similar identification with the second Adam, the obedient, atoning Christ.

"By the Law" was the general answer of Paul's day. A sort of accounts was kept—man's law works against his nature-works. Who scores a deficit may draw on the superabundant merits of the Patriarchs. No matter whence the money, so the account be squared. A Talmudic, arithmetical calculation, starving the soul. *Cf. Apoc. Bar.*, 14^7, 21^9, 51^2, 63^3, 67^6, 85^2. R. H. Charles, *Baruch*, 1896, lxxix. *seq.* Christian judaizers owned to the intercessory value of Christ's death, but affirmed His merits to be similar in quality to the Patriarchs', though higher in value, and still asserted the necessity of the Law and its works for salvation.

Paul wrenched Christianity free. With his fellows, he believed the Law God-given, holy, spiritual, a guide to life, a prerogative of Israel, etc., Ro 7^{10-14}, 9^4, 2^{13}; yet he saw that, if kept, it made religion mechanical; if violated, bred hypocrisy and despair (p. 6, *supra*); it had slipped in that sin might abound, Ro 5^{20}, *cf.* Ga 3^{19}; it is the strength, *i.e.*, the instrument of sin, 1 Co 15^{56}; for without a law man knows not what is unlawful; no law, no sin, Ro 3^{20}, 4^{15}; come Law, Sin starts into life, the soul dies, for never can it keep the law; the commandment, ideally a help to life, turns out a cause of death, 7^{8-10}. Is, then, the law bad? 7^7. No; it was to force on man the sense of his helplessness in guilt, Ro 3^{19}, 5^{20}, Ga 3^{24}, 1 Co 15^{56}; to lead him by the hand to Christ, Ga. 3^{24}, 4^2; to drive him to join with all Creation in its cry for a Redeemer, Ro 8^{19-24}. The *end* of the Law is Christ unto justification.[1]

perpetuated by generation, in us who, in virtue of our solidarity, make one person with Adam, will be deduced by a line of commentators till Augustine shall crystallize the dogma in formulæ which Mileve and Carthage (418) and the 2nd Council of Orange (429) shall pass on to Trent's supreme recognition of their accuracy, Lect. xx. 23, 24; xxiii.; xxviii. 17, 29).

[1] P's famous allegory, Ga 4^{21-31}, is in his most "Rabbinic" style (*cf.* Prat, p. 29). As the slave Agar bore Ishmael in Arabia, according to the flesh, to slavery, so the slave Synagogue bore the Jews on Sinai, according to the Law, to slavery. And as the free woman Sara bore for Jerusalem a free son, Israel, in virtue of God's promises, so the free Church bears for heaven free Christians in virtue of their faith.

For "the justice of God by faith in Jesus Christ is unto all who believe. For there is no difference: for all have sinned and are fallen short of the glory of God; being justified as a free gift by His free favour through the ransoming that is in Christ Jesus, whom God set forth as a Propitiation through faith in His blood, that He might be just, and justifying him who is of the faith of Jesus," Ro 3^{22-26}.[1]

2. Christ's death, then, is a penalty for sin, Ro 4^{25}, 8^{32}, and a ransom from it, Ga 4^{5}, Ro 3^{24}, and as such undergone and freely accepted by Jesus. He became *obedient* unto death, Ph 2^{8}; He took away the handwriting that was against us, nailing it to His Cross, Col 2^{14}, for He became sin *for* us, 2 Co 5^{21}, a curse for us, Ga 3^{13}. All prophecy warrants Paul in following the *Apostolic Tradition* that Christ died for our sins, 1 Co 15^{3}. Our old life is then con-crucified with Him, Ro 6^{6}, dead with Him, and with Him buried, Col 2^{12}, Ga 2^{20}; so utterly is our redemption His work that we have naught to boast "save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world," Ga 6^{14}. But though this death suffices to blot out the past, Ro 5^{9}, yet we have a future, which His Resurrection opens to us. As in Adam all died, so in the risen Christ shall all be made alive, 1 Co 15^{12-22}; for He rose too for our justification, Ro 4^{25}, 6^{4-8}, Eph 2^{5}, 2 Ti 2^{11}; in His risen glory we must share.[2]

3. What, then, is the Life to which His Resurrection admits us? One of personal holiness. God declares the Christian justified, and thereby *makes* him just;

[1] Deissmann, *Biblische Studien*, p. 124, proves ἱλαστήριον (propitiatory object) to be essentially sacrificial in its meaning. It cannot possibly be translated, as by Luther, "mercy-seat," or *-lid*, as though Christ's merits merely *covered*, not deleted, sin (*cf.* Lect. xxiii. 18, 30). From this word, ἀπολύτρωσις, ransoming, takes its colour. *Cf. supra*, p. 14, n. 1, and 23, n. 1.

[2] Paul's *sharing* words are numerous and significant. We are so one with Christ that we are crucified, buried, planted, living, risen, heirs, sufferers, glorified, kings *with* Him, even as *with* us the Spirit witnesses, groans, intercedes, and the Universe travails together towards God's end.

his assertion is creative; what He declares to be, *is*, Ro 3^{26}; the soul is transferred from real sin to equally real righteousness, Ro 3^{24}, 5^{9}; the moment of its justification is that of its sanctification, 1 Co 6^{11}. God's justice is revealed *in* man, Ro 1^{17}, 10^{3}, and that is his life.[1]

We have therefore the doctrine of a free favour, a *Charis*, Grace; it is the whole process of man's transition from sin, Ro 5^{21}, 6^{1}, by the free power of God, *ib.* 5^{15}, Eph 1^{7}, through the whole efficacy of Christ's death and resurrection, Tit 3^{3-7}, into a new life of God-given justice, Ro 3^{24}.

ECCLESIOLOGY.—A. John saw the common *Life* of Christ and Christian. Paul sees the *living organism*—the Church, the outcome of the Incarnation, the term of justification, the complement of Christ. In Christ "it has pleased God that all the *Pleroma* (Plenitude) should dwell," and in Him dwells all the *Pleroma* of the divinity corporally, Col 2^{9-19},[2] but Christ Himself has a Pleroma, a Complement, a Plentitude, "the

[1] P insists that the essence of justification is that it be gratuitous. Man must be left no ground for boasting, 1 Co 1^{29}, Ro 3^{27}. Hence his emphasis on Abraham's justification previous to law-works, even to Circumcision (the symbol of admission into God's people), Ga 3^{6} *seq.*; hence his appeal to the Galatians' *consciousness* of justification apart from any law-works, *ib.* 3^{1-6}. But as we cannot earn it, so God need not give it (*cf. supra*, pp. 11, 22): hence doctrines of Election, Predestination. "Those whom He fore-knew, them also He fore-ordained . . . and whom He fore-ordained, them too He called, and whom He called, them too He justified, and whom He justified, them too He glorified," Ro 8^{28}. This passage has wrought despair in millions of souls—sad paradox! meant as it was to kindle unflinching hope. How, P asks, can the Christian fear? God is with us—He has proved it not only by His giving His own Son, in time, to die for us, but by a predilection subsisting from eternity. Not God, then, shall accuse us—His rôle is to justify us! Not Jesus shall condemn us, who died for us, and rose to intercede for us! "Who," he exclaims, at the head of that superb passage, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" All the influences that on earth may sunder souls, draw us but closer to His love. And God's love is from eternity and irrevocable.

[2] Clearly we cannot discuss the Gnostic use of this word. Probably it would be an anachronism to admit its currency in P's day. On it see Lightfoot, *Col* [11], 1892, 255–271. J. A. Robinson, *Expositor*, viii., 1898, pp. 241–259.

Church, which is His body, the plentitude of Him who [thus] completes Himself, an All in all." "I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest," said the vision to him who persecuted the Church. It would be utterly to emasculate Paul to make of this a mere moral or ideal identification. Language is idle if Paul's is not to mean that between Christ and His Church exists a union of unique *reality*. The meaning of "Christ" is lost if with the historic Jesus be not conjoined the Church. In that Mystical Christ, the Head is as incomplete without the members as they without it, 1 Co 12^{12-19}. "Ye are Christ's body [collectively], and [individually] His members." These must serve "unto the building up of the body of Christ . . . . into a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the Plenitude of Christ . . . . who is the head, from whom all the body derives the harmony of its parts and its compactness throughout all the joints of its mass, each several part energizing in its own sphere; by this process the whole body grows, unto the building up of itself in love," Eph 4^{12-16}.

Even so, "Christ is the head of the body, of the Church . . . . because in Him it hath been pleasing that all the Plentitude should dwell," Col 1^{18}, 2^{19}, Eph 1^{22}, 4^{15}, 5^{23}. Of this mystic Christ, the Spirit is the soul: "he who cleaves to the Lord *is* one Spirit," 1 Co 6^{17}. The Spirit is the principle of cohesion, of vital action. We live in Him, Ga 5^{25}; walk in Him, Ga 5^{16}, Ro 8^{14}; under His essential impulse we take the *shape* of Christ, 2 Co 3^{18}.[1] Hence a Church grows up, "one body, one spirit, one hope, one Lord,

[1] The same Spirit has pervaded the Universe, "which groans and travails like one thing even until now . . . . (but) the Spirit joins together with our weakness. For what to pray as we ought, we know not; but the Spirit itself intercedes for us with wordless groanings, and He that searcheth hearts knows what is the meaning of the Spirit," Ro 8^{22-27}. It is to the same Spirit of Jesus that, from Pentecost onward, the marvellous spread of the Church in the Acts is assigned, *e.g.* 2^{4}, 4^{8}, 9^{17}, 10^{38}, 13^{4}, etc., etc.: *cf.* p. 30, the Sacraments are His working.

one faith,[1] one baptism, one God and Father of all," Eph 4^2, Apostolic, 3^5, Universal, Ro 3^{29}, holy now, and to be altogether immaculate in the end.

"The bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the body of Christ? Because we, the many, are one bread, one body, *for* we all share in the same Bread," 1 Co 10^{16}. The body is nourished by the Food of which Christ spoke (pp. 14, 22), namely, Himself: Paul had "received" this doctrine, 1 Co 11^{23}; Luke's account of its institution depends probably from him. Paul characteristically uses what to John is the very vehicle of life in especial relation to the living *organism* which it nourishes. *Cf.* Batiffol, *Études d'Hist.*, ii., 1–20, Paris, 1906. The organization of the Church is, in Paul's letters, such as explains the full hierarchical system which the sub-apostolic age—*e.g.*, in Ignatius' letters—at once displays (Lect. xix. 4-10), and was manifestly intended to develop into it. Any church established by Paul was forthwith equipped with a fixed clergy, composed of deacons, and "presbyteri" or "episcopi": the latter were apparently all *priests*: in the fixed Pauline clergy no trace of power to ordain is observable: all establishment of clergy or churches is managed immediately by Paul or his delegates. This need not apply to the other churches of which we learn nothing in Paul. Widows held a particular rank in the Church; assisted probably in the instruction of women; and received special alms.[2] Deaconesses (Ro 16^1, and *cf.* 12^7, 1 Co 12^5) rendered services in no sense counterpart to the deacons, and were not the separate order later existing. The appointment to office appears wholly "monarchical," *i.e.* in the hands of Paul and his delegates. There is no hint of popular election. *Cf.* Michiels, *L'orig. de l'épiscopat*, Louvain, 1900. Batiffol, *L'Église Naissante.* De Smedt, *Organisation*, etc., in *Revue des quest. hist.*, xliv., 1888. Prat, p. 475–485; 488 n. Y.; Cath. Enc., *s.v.* CHURCH.

B. There is no need, we think, to dwell upon the Ecclesiology of John, though the Epistles and Apocalypse show, it is frequently considered, the Monarchical episcopate firmly established and working, 3^9, Apoc. 2–3. Peter is chief Shepherd (21^{15-17});

[1] We cannot discuss the Reformers' misuse of this word, *cf.* Lect. xxviii. 18, 30; xxiii.; nor the relation of P's doctrine to James'. In P, Ga 5^6, in Ja, 2^{22}, are vital passages.

[2] P carries on and explains Christ's teaching on divorce, marriage, and celibacy, M 19^{5-12}, 5^{32}, Mk 10^{11}, L 16^{18}; affirming marriage holy, and indissoluble, 1 Co $7^{10, 39}$, etc.; he insists on *equality* of duty between man and wife, 1 Co 7^{12-13}, but he yet counsels virginity as the state, in itself, more perfect, *ib.* $7^{1, 8, 35-8}$.

baptism is the gate (3^5) of the Church, which has power to forgive sins (20^{23}) and cannot err (16^{13}). The Holy Spirit, pervading Christ's people, is dwelt upon by John; a whole theology of his relation with Father and Son grows from the last chapters of John's Gospel. This Spirit, who convicts (16^8) the World with which he cannot associate (14^{17}), witnesses to Christ (15^{26}), continues Christ's mission (16^{13}), is distinct from Father and Son, yet proceeds from the one (15^{26}) and fills the place of the other (14^{16}). Above all, He is the Spirit of *truth*, guiding into all truth the kingdom of light, whence is cast out all that "loveth or maketh a lie" (Ap 22^{15}).

* * * * *

'Eye hath not seen," wrote Paul, "nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, what things God hath prepared for them that love Him," 1 Co 2^9. And it will be with John's vision of the heavenly Church that we conclude. There all is resumed—the Eternal God, Alpha and Omega, Existence concentrating in itself past, present, and future alike, and Jesus, who lived and died and lives for ever, identified in nature and prerogative with Him, 1^{8-17}. Vision upon vision of the fiery purity of that existence, of the intense adoration it deserves, pass before the Seer. "Worthy art Thou, O Lord and God of us, to take the glory and the honour and the power, for Thou createdst all things, and because of Thy will they were and are created," 4^{11}. When the Lamb, slain but standing, is revealed, 5^6, it is a new song that He hears. "Thou wast slain and didst buy (men) to God in Thy blood from every tribe and tongue, and people and nation. Worthy is the Lamb that is slain to take the power and wealth, and wisdom and strength, and honour and glory, and blessing. And all creature that is in the heaven, and on the earth and under the earth, and on the sea, and all things that are in them, I heard saying: To Him that is seated on the throne and to the Lamb, the glory and the honour

and the might unto the ages of the ages," 5^{9}. The "new song," too, of the Virgins, that none save they can learn, is heard as they follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth, 14^{3-5}; and white-robed martyrs join with heaven and earth in a triumph-hymn, "a great multitude that no one might number," 7^{9}: "The Kingdom of the World is become that of Our Lord and of His Christ, and He shall be King for the ages of the ages," 11^{15}; and the Seer beholds, focussed to one point, the destruction by God of the great pagan Empire, 14^{8}, 17^{6}, drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus, and of the whole reign of Sin and Satan. Heaven is full of one song, "as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of strong thunders; Alleluia, for our Lord God, the Omnipotent, is King. Let us rejoice and exult, for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and His Bride hath prepared herself," 19^{6}. John sees a great white throne, and Him that was seated on it, "before whose Face earth and heaven fled, and a place was not found for them," 20^{11}. In their room God makes a new heaven, a new earth, a new Jerusalem. "Behold, the Tabernacle of God is with men," 21^{3}. "Death is no more; the first things are passed away . . . . behold, I make all things new." Upon the vision of that City John's eyes close: the surging hymns and shouts of praise resolve themselves into the simple and trustful prayer of the Church still waiting upon earth, and of the Spirit praying ever in her: "Come." "And let him that heareth say 'Come'"; each individual soul is to echo the desire. "Yea" is the final answer of Jesus, "behold, I come quickly." "Even so; come, Lord Jesus." "The Grace of the Lord Jesus be with all," Ap. 22^{20}. Thus the New Testament concludes.

We shall not regret our words, only if they send readers to that divine book which we would fain have suffered to speak for itself. Pagan literature may often provoke our enthusiasm, awe, and even tears. Yet, when it is sublime, it is speculative mostly,

nor descends to ordinary life save in over-stern behest, or at the price of its own degradation. Thus Plato's *City* is indeed an "ensample in the skies," but almost farcical in its pictured realization; his asceticism of mind and sense is a negative process, unfitted, even as experiment, save for a spiritual aristocracy. The poets soar higher than philosophy: Æschylus wrestles with terrific enigmas, and stammers, anxious even in his majesty, solemn hints of their solution. Vergil, tenderest of souls, is lost in the melancholy brooding over life. The New Testament is sublime, but exalts human life to its own level: it is simple and gracious; breaks no bruised reed nor quenches any flickering wick of effort or desire. Its sympathy is intimate, but strong; it announces tremendous principles with serenity, decision, and completeness. A child may love it: the learned cannot exhaust it: while, in place of the confused medley of all other sacred writings known to history, it presents the unity of the living personality of Jesus.

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THE RELIGION OF THE EARLY CHURCH

By C. Lattey, S.J.

I

Introductory

"So much must [the Protestant] grant, that if such a system of doctrine as he would now introduce ever existed in early times, it has been clean swept away as if by a deluge, suddenly, silently, and without memorial; by a deluge coming in a night, and utterly soaking, rotting, heaving up, and hurrying off every vestige of what it found in the Church, before cock-crowing; so that 'when they rose in the morning' her true seed 'were all dead corpses'—nay, dead and buried—and without grave-stone. 'The waters went over them; there was not one of them left; they sank like lead in the mighty waters.' . . . Let him take which of his doctrines he will—his peculiar view of self-righteousness, of formality, of superstition; his notion of faith, or of spirituality in religious worship; his denial of the virtue of the sacraments, or of the ministerial commission, or of the visible Church; or his doctrine of the divine efficacy of the Scriptures as the one appointed instrument of religious teaching; and let him consider how far Antiquity, as it has come down to us, will countenance him in it. No; he must allow that the alleged deluge has done its work; yes, and has in

turn disappeared itself; it has been swallowed up in the earth, mercilessly as itself was merciless."[1]

"If there is a form of Christianity now in the world which is accused of gross superstition, of borrowing its rites and customs from the heathen, and of ascribing to forms and ceremonies an occult virtue;—a religion which is considered to burden and enslave the mind by its requisitions, to address itself to the weak-minded and ignorant, to be supported by sophistry and imposture, and to contradict reason and exalt mere irrational faith;—a religion which impresses on the serious mind very distressing views of the guilt and consequences of sin, sets upon the minute acts of the day, one by one, their definite value for praise or blame, and thus casts a grave shadow over the future;—a religion which holds up to admiration the surrender of wealth, and disables serious persons from enjoying it if they would;—a religion the doctrines of which, be they good or bad, are to the generality of men unknown; which is considered to bear on its very surface signs of folly and falsehood so distinct that a glance suffices to judge of it, and that careful examination is preposterous; which is felt to be so simply bad, that it may be calumniated at hazard and at pleasure, it being nothing but absurdity to stand upon the accurate distribution of its guilt among its particular acts, or painfully to determine how far this or that story concerning it is literally true, or what has to be allowed in candour, or what is improbable, or what cuts two ways, or what is not proved, or what may be plausibly defended;—a religion such that men look at a convert to it with a feeling which no other denomination raises except Judaism, Socialism, or Mormonism, viz. with curiosity, suspicion, fear, disgust, as the case may be, as if something strange had befallen him, as if he had had an initiation into a mystery, and had come into

[1] Newman, *Historical Sketches:* Primitive Christianity, c. 5.

communion with dreadful influences, as if he were now one of a confederacy which claimed him, absorbed him, stripped him of his personality, reduced him to a mere organ or instrument of a whole;—a religion which men hate as proselytizing, anti-social, revolutionary, as dividing families, separating chief friends, corrupting the maxims of government, making a mock at law, dissolving the empire, the enemy of human nature, and a conspirator against its rights and privileges;—a religion which they consider the champion and instrument of darkness, and a pollution calling down upon the land the anger of heaven;—a religion which they associate with intrigue and conspiracy, which they speak about in whispers, which they detect by anticipation in whatever goes wrong, and to which they impute whatever is unaccountable;—a religion the very name of which they cast out as evil, and use simply as a bad epithet, and which from the impulse of self-preservation they would persecute if they could:—if there be such a religion now in the world, it is not unlike Christianity as that same world viewed it, when first it came forth from its Divine Author."[1]

"The oracles of Divine Truth, as time goes on, do but repeat one message from above which they have ever uttered, since the tongues of fire attested the coming of the Paraclete; still, as time goes on, they utter it with greater force and precision, under diverse forms, with fuller luminousness, and a richer ministration of thought, statement, and argument."[2]

"All bodies of Christians, orthodox or not, develope the doctrines of Scripture. . . . All parties appeal to Scripture, that is, argue from Scripture; but argument implies deduction, that is, development. Here, there is no difference between early times and late, between a Pope *ex cathedra* and an individual Protestant,

[1] Newman, *Development of Christian Doctrine*, VI. i., 30.
[2] Newman, *Office and Work of Universities*, c. 16.

except that their authority is not on a par. On either side the claim of authority is the same, and the process of development. . . . (Protestants) themselves deduce by quite as subtle a method, and act upon doctrines as implicit and on reasons as little analyzed in time past, as Catholic schoolmen. What prominence has the Royal Supremacy in the New Testament, or the lawfulness of bearing arms, or the duty of public worship, or the substitution of the first day of the week for the seventh, or infant baptism, to say nothing of the fundamental principle that the Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants?"[1]

It is the object of this pamphlet to set forth briefly a few leading features in the Church of the second century. So far as the narrow limits of space allow, the chief writers of the period are allowed to tell their own tale. The two following chapters are concerned with organisation, the next two with the Eucharist, round which centred the worship. The last chapter is devoted to a question of pure doctrine, the Divinity of Christ.

II

The Bishops

St. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, wrote his work *Against Heresies* towards the end of the second century. His witness is important, for he had visited Rome, and was himself the chief figure in the church of Gaul; while in writing to a friend to dissuade him from heresy he thus testified how well he knew the tradition bequeathed to the Asiatic[2] churches by St. John:—

"I remember the events of that time more clearly than those of recent occurrence. The lessons of

[1] Newman, *Development of Christian Doctrine*, II. i., 3.

[2] Throughout the paper, "Asia," in keeping with the usage of that time, denotes the Roman province of Asia, very roughly the western half of Asia Minor.

childhood grow with the growth of the soul, and become one with it. And so I can describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp used to sit as he discoursed, and his goings out and his comings in, and his manner of life, and his personal appearance, and the discourses which he made to the people, and how he would describe his intercourse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord, and how he would relate their words. And whatsoever things he had heard from them about the Lord, and about His miracles, and about His teaching, Polycarp, as having received them from eyewitnesses of the life of the Word, would relate all in keeping with the Scriptures To these discourses, by God's mercy which was upon me, I was wont at that time to listen attentively noting them down, not on paper, but in my heart; and by God's grace I am ever revolving them faithfully in my mind. And I can testify before God, that if that blessed and apostolic presbyter[1] had heard anything of this kind, he would have cried out and stopped his ears, and said, as was his wont, 'O good God, for what times hast thou kept me, that I should endure these things?' and would even have fled from the place where he was sitting or standing when he heard such words. And indeed, this can be shown from his letters which he wrote either to the neighbouring churches, to strengthen them, or to certain of the brethren, to warn and exhort them."[2]

Elsewhere Irenæus tells us that "in early youth" he saw Polycarp, who was "appointed by apostles bishop in the church of Smyrna in Asia . . . . and there are those who heard him say that John, the disciple of the Lord, when going to bathe at Ephesus, on perceiving Cerinthus[3] within, rushed out of the

[1] The word πρεσβύτερος (whence our "presbyter" and "priest") here used, was applied in the early Church both to bishops and priests.

[2] Irenæus to Florinus, quoted in Eusebius' *Church History*, v. 20. Eusebius wrote his History in 324 A.D. Its authority is beyond question.

[3] One of the earliest arch-heretics.

bath-house without bathing, exclaiming, 'Let us flee, lest the bath-house fall in, because Cerinthus is within, the enemy of the truth.' And Polycarp himself, when Marcion[1] once met him and said, 'Dost thou recognize me?' answered, 'I recognize the first-born of Satan.' Such was the horror which the apostles and their disciples had of even verbal communication with any corrupters of the truth."[2]

Thus Irenæus alleges good authority for his attitude to heresy. That in heresy he included error in doctrine is evident from his whole work. Even before him Hegesippus[3] and Justin Martyr[4] had found plenty of heretics to describe and refute, and they, too, make the point clear.

What, then, is Irenæus' standard of true doctrine?

"It is within the power of all who may wish to see the truth, to behold in every church the tradition of the apostles manifested throughout the whole world; and we are able to count up those who were by the apostles appointed bishops in the churches, and the series of their successors down to our own time, who neither taught nor knew anything like these men's ravings.[5] For if the apostles had known hidden mysteries, which they used to teach the perfect apart from, and without the knowledge of the rest, they would have delivered them to those before all others to whom they were also committing the churches themselves. For they desired that those men should be very perfect and blameless in all things, whom they were leaving as their successors, delivering up to them their own place of government; for if these should act rightly, great advantage would result, but if they fell away, the greatest disaster.

"But since it would be very tedious, in such a

[1] The founder of one of the chief heresies of the time.
[2] *Against Heresies*, iii. 3.
[3] Quoted by Eusebius, *op. cit.*, iv. 22.
[4] *Apol.*, i. 26; cf. *Tryph.*, 35, etc.
[5] He is speaking of the chief heretics of his time, the Gnostics.

volume as this, to reckon up the successions of all the churches, it is by pointing out the apostolic tradition of the greatest and most ancient and universally known church, founded and established at Rome by the two most glorious apostles Peter and Paul, and the faith which it has preached to men, which comes down to our own time through its successive bishops, that we confound all those who in any way, whether through self-pleasing or vain glory, or through blindness or perverse opinion, meet for worship otherwise than as they ought. For with this church, on account of its more powerful leadership, every church, that is, the faithful from everywhere, must needs agree, inasmuch as the apostolic tradition has always been preserved therein by those who are from everywhere."[1]

The population of Rome was at this time a very mixed one. The members of the Roman church would naturally, therefore, belong to many nations; and to this fact St. Irenæus seems to be alluding. In any case the general sense is plain: the Roman tradition is cited, not merely as an example, but as the standard of the rest. The Roman church thus holds a peculiar position even among the apostolic churches, which Irenæus mentions with special reverence in his appeal to the general consent of the bishops.

This is how he speaks of the duty and fact of unity:—

"The Church, though spread over the whole world to the ends of the earth, having yet received from the apostles and their disciples the faith in one God . . . . and in one Christ Jesus . . . . and in the Holy Spirit . . . . as carefully preserves it, as if dwelling in a single house. And she so believes these things as if she had a single soul and the same heart; and she proclaims them and teaches

[1] *Op. cit.*, iii. 3.

them and hands them down with perfect harmony, as though she had but one mouth. For although the languages in the world are dissimilar, still the force of the tradition is one and the same. And neither do the churches which have been planted in Germany believe or hand down anything different, nor do those in Spain, nor those among the Celts, nor those in the East, nor those in Egypt, nor those in Africa, nor those which have been planted in the middle of the world.[1] But as God's handiwork, the sun, is one and the same throughout the whole world, so also the preaching of the truth shineth everywhere, and enlightens all men who wish to come to the knowledge of truth. And neither will he who among the rulers of the churches is very powerful in speech, utter things different from these, nor will he who is weak in speech detract from the tradition. For the faith being one and the same, neither he that can say much regarding it hath anything over, nor he that can say but little, any lack."[2]

"Where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church, and every grace; but the Spirit is truth. Wherefore, they who do not partake of Him, are neither nourished into life from a mother's breasts, nor enjoy that most clear fountain which issues from Christ's body; but they dig for themselves broken cisterns out of earthy trenches, and drink foul water from out the mire, fleeing from the faith of the Church, lest they be brought over, and rejecting the Spirit, that they may not be instructed.

"Alienated from the truth, they deservedly wallow in every error, tossed to and fro thereby, thinking differently about the same things at different times, and never having a settled opinion, preferring to be cavillers about words rather than disciples of the

[1] Doubtless the churches of Palestine are meant.
[2] *Op. cit.*, i. 10.

truth. For they are not founded upon the one rock, but upon sand, which contains within it many stones. Wherefore, they also invent many gods, and they always have the excuse that they are seeking (for they are blind), but they never can find."[1]

"He will also judge those who cause schisms; men void of the love of God, who have in view their own profit, but not the unity of the Church, who, for any slight reason that may chance, sever and divide Christ's great and glorious body, and, as far as in them lies, make away with it; who speak peace, and work war, truly straining at the gnat, but swallowing the camel. No reformation can ensue by their means, so great as is the mischief of the schism.

"He will also judge all those who are out of the truth, that is, who are out of the Church; but He himself will be judged by none . . . ."[2]

Thus, according to St. Irenæus all must belong to the one universal Church, through submission to the bishops; though he recognises that a bishop may fall away. How strongly this same duty is inculcated in the letters of St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, to the Asiatic churches early in the century, is too well known to need more than a few passages by way of illustration:—

"Avoid evil herbs, which Jesus Christ tilleth not, because they are not the Father's planting. . . For as many as are of God and of Jesus Christ, these are with the bishop; and as many as may repent and come into the unity of the Church, these too shall be of God, that they may be living according to Jesus Christ. Be not deceived, my brethren. If any man followeth one that maketh a schism, he doth not inherit the kingdom of God. If any man walketh in strange doctrine, he hath no fellowship with the passion."[3]

"Flee divisions, as the beginning of evils. . . .

[1] *Op. cit.*, iii. 24. [2] *Op. cit.*, iv. 33. [3] *Philad.* iii.

Wheresoever the bishop appear, there let the people be, even as wheresoever Christ Jesus be, there is the Catholic Church."[1]

"Jesus Christ, our inseparable Life, is the Father's mind, even as the bishops that are settled in the farthest parts of the earth are in the mind of Jesus Christ."[2]

Another witness to the Apostolic Succession, as well as to the unity of the Church in faith and practice, is St. Hegesippus, who wrote about 180 A.D. On the latter point his evidence is of peculiar weight, for he was almost certainly a Jew of Palestine, the quarter where above all others we should look for divergences of importance, did any exist. He writes:—

"When I had come to Rome I made a succession-list down to Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus. . . . In every succession[3] and in every city things are ordered according to the preaching of the Law and the prophets and the Lord."[4]

In conclusion, it may be well to notice that the early writers, unaccustomed to heresy handed down through many generations, do not so explicitly recognise the possibility of Christians remaining outside the Church in good faith as, for example, did Pius IX.[5]

III

The Pope

"St. Peter was certainly not accustomed to order the apostles about. We should not suppose that his

[1] *Smyrn.* viii. [2] *Eph.* iii.

[3] That is, of bishops: "in every bishopric." But the use of the word seems to emphasise Hegesippus' interest in the Apostolic Succession.

[4] Quoted by Eusebius, *op. cit.*, iv. 22.

[5] Allocution of December 9, 1854: Denzinger's *Enchiridion*, ed. 10, No. 1647.

immediate successors would at once exhibit the full consciousness of their relation to the Church. They would be aware that Rome was the first see, and consequently the centre, and that it must share in some degree the infallibility with which Christ willed His Church to be endowed. But the precise way in which this primacy was to be brought into play, the manner and method of the exercise of Roman authority in faith and government, would need time for their unfolding."[1]

Already before the opening of the second century Pope St. Clement had written to the disturbed Corinthian church, in the name of that of Rome, a letter in which Prof. Harnack recognises "language that was at once an expression of duty, love, and authority,"[2] and Dr. Lightfoot an "urgent and almost imperious tone," and even "the first step towards papal domination."[3] About the middle of the century another letter from Pope Soter evoked an answer from Dionysius, the then bishop of Corinth, in which he speaks of Soter as sending supplies to relieve the wants of all the churches, in accordance with the ancient practice of the Roman Church, and mentions that Soter's letter has just been read publicly on the Sunday.[4] Another example of the popes' authority in this century may be seen in their dealings with the Montanists. Tertullian, writing towards the beginning of the third century, when he had himself become one, accuses Praxeas of having "compelled the Roman bishop—who was already acknowledging the prophecies of Montanus, Prisca and Maximilla, and by that acknowlegement bringing peace to the churches of Asia and Phrygia—by making false statements

[1] Dom John Chapman, O.S.B: *Bishop Gore and the Catholic Claims*, chap. vi.
[2] *History of Dogma*, ii. 3: Excursus, Eng. trans., p. 156.
[3] *Clement of Rome*, i. pp. 69, 70.
[4] Eusebius, *op. cit.*, iv. 23.

about the prophets themselves and their churches, and by defending the decrees of his predecessors, both to recall the letters of peace already issued, and to cease from his purpose of recognising the spiritual gifts."[1] The effect upon the far-off churches of Asia Minor and Phrygia, attributed to the action of the several popes, is very significant. The Roman bishop more particularly in question was probably Victor, who was pope during the last decade of the century. It was Victor, too, who "proclaimed Theodotus the leather-dealer, the first to declare that Christ is mere man, cut off from communion."[2] Yet another cutting off by Victor will be set forth at greater length presently.

Besides the letter of Dionysius of Corinth to the Roman church, there is that of St. Ignatius of Antioch, which is still more important. Important, too, are the visits to Rome of St. Polycarp and St. Avircius. The language of St. Irenæus we have already seen. Indeed, for those who are willing to treat the evidence in a reasonable spirit, there is even in the second century a cloud of witnesses. Doubtless there was much in the city of Rome that well fitted it to be the seat of the primacy; but the general trend of the evidence of our period is very far from indicating these more or less material advantages as the actual source of the peculiar authority of the Roman tradition and the Roman see.

One incident only can be described at greater length. Our knowledge of Pope St. Victor's action in the Easter dispute is derived almost entirely from Eusebius:—[3]

"A question of no small importance arose at that time. The dioceses of all Asia, alleging an older

[1] *Adv. Praxeam*, i.

[2] A writer, perhaps Hippolytus, quoted by Eusebius, *op. cit.*, v. 28. The context is given in full in the last chapter of this pamphlet.

[3] *Op. cit.*, v. 23–25.

tradition, thought that the fourteenth day of the moon, on which the Jews were commanded to sacrifice the lamb, should be observed as the feast of the Saviour's passover; it was absolutely necessary to end the fast on that day, whatever day of the week it should happen to be. But the churches in the whole of the rest of the world had not the custom of ending it in this way, but from apostolic tradition observed the custom which has prevailed to the present time; the fast was to be concluded on no other day than on that of the Saviour's resurrection. Synods and assemblies of bishops were held, and all with one mind through their letters framed an ecclesiastical decree for the faithful everywhere, that the mystery of the Lord's resurrection should be celebrated on no other but the Lord's day, and that we should observe the close of the Lenten fast on this day alone. . . .

"But Polycrates led the bishops of Asia, who insisted that the custom handed down to them long time before ought to be kept to. He himself, in the letter which he composed to Victor and the church of the Romans, has set forth the tradition come down to him in these terms:—

"'We observe the exact day; neither adding, nor taking away. For in Asia, too, great lights have fallen asleep, who shall rise again on the day of the Lord's coming. . . .

"'All these observed the fourteenth day for the passover according to the gospel, deviating in no respect, but following the rule of faith. . . . I therefore, brethren, who have lived sixty-five years in the Lord, and have had intercourse with brethren from the whole world, and have gone through every holy scripture, am not affrighted by terrifying words. For those greater than I have said, 'We must obey God rather than men.' . . .

"'I could mention the bishops who were present

together, whom you desired should be summoned by me, and I summoned them, whose names, should I write them, would make a great multitude. . . .'

"Thereupon Victor, who presided over the church of the Romans, tried at a sweep to cut off from the common unity the dioceses of all Asia, together with the neighbouring churches, as heterodox, and even wrote letters to proscribe them, declaring the brethren there excommunicate to a man. But this did not please all the bishops. They exhorted him to take thought for peace, and for neighbourly unity and love. Words of theirs are extant, rebuking Victor somewhat sharply. Among them was Irenæus, who wrote in the name of the brethren in Gaul, over whom he presided. While maintaining that the mystery of the Lord's resurrection should be celebrated only on the Lord's day, he yet fittingly exhorts Victor not to cut off whole churches of God, which were observing the tradition of an ancient custom."

There can be little doubt that it was Victor who caused the synods to be held throughout the Church, as he did that in Asia. Moreover, as the "terrifying words" were addressed to Polycrates or the Asiatic bishops before they had come to a decision, Victor must have strongly urged the adoption of the Roman and more general system, at least where there was danger of its being rejected. When the Asiatic churches refuse, in spite of their numbers and prestige, and their claim to have inherited their usage from St. John the apostle, he declares that he severs them, not from his own communion merely, but from that of the universal Church. Some of the bishops, perhaps not unnaturally, think this action too harsh, and apparently tell Victor so pretty plainly; but there is no sign that they consider that he has exceeded his powers. On the contrary, in the one letter of this kind of which Eusebius gives us any knowledge,

Irenæus obviously presupposes that Victor can carry the thing through if he choose. Finally, "We must obey God rather than men," are surely the words of men who acknowledge a claim to obedience in another, though they consider that in the particular case in hand God's law compels them to withhold the obedience otherwise due.

Unfortunately Eusebius does not go on to tell us how the incident ended. To the present writer it seems rather more probable that Victor persisted, and that the Asiatic churches gave way. In the *Philosophumena*, a work written about forty years later, it appears to be merely isolated individuals who keep to the fourteenth day,[1] and by the time of the Council of Nice in 325 A.D. the Asiatic practice has long been in keeping with that of the rest of the Church. But all are agreed that the significance of the incident does not depend upon its issue. Prof. Harnack, for example, writes:—

"(Victor) ventured to issue an edict, which we may already style a peremptory one, proclaiming the Roman practice with regard to the regulation of ecclesiastical festivals to be the universal rule in the Church, and declaring that every congregation that failed to adopt the Roman arrangement was excluded from the union of the one Church on the ground of heresy. How would Victor have ventured on such an edict—though indeed he had not the power of enforcing it in every case[2]—unless the special prerogative of Rome to determine the conditions of the 'common unity' (κοινὴ ἕνωσις) in the vital questions of the faith had been an acknowledged and well-established fact? How could Victor have addressed such a demand to the independent[3]

[1] *Op. cit.*, viii. 18.

[2] The evidence rather shows that Victor's claim to power was admitted.

[3] It need hardly be said that Prof. Harnack's theory as to the Papacy is not the Catholic one.

churches, if he had not been recognised, in his capacity of bishop of Rome, as the special guardian of the *κοινὴ ἕνωσις*?"[1]

Much in the same way Prof. A. Sabatier calls the date of Victor's edict "the true birthday of the papacy."[2] And yet there are many links to connect it with St. Clement's letter to the Corinthians—and Christ's promise to St. Peter.

IV

The Sacrifice of the New Law

"The idea of the whole transaction of the Supper as a sacrifice is plainly found in the Didache (c. 14), in Ignatius, and, above all, in Justin (i. 65 *f.*). But even Clement of Rome presupposes it, when (in cc. 40–44) he draws a parallel between bishops and deacons and the Priests and Levites of the Old Testament, describing as the chief function of the former (44, 4) *προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα*."[3]

Without professing to follow Prof. Harnack[4] in his further explanations, we may accept the above as substantially true. St. Irenæus, however, once more furnishes the best starting-point:—

"[Our Lord], giving counsel to His disciples to offer firstfruits to God from His creatures, not as to one in need, but that they themselves might be neither unfruitful nor thankless, took bread which is of creation, and gave thanks,[5] saying: 'This is My Body.' And the

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 160–1.

[2] *The Religions of Authority and The Religion of the Spirit*, Eng. trans., p. 109.

[3] "To offer the gifts." In Clement there is question, not of deacons, but of "presbyters": see chap. ii., p. 5, *note* 1.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 209, *note*.

[5] *εὐχαριστία* originally meant "thanksgiving," but among Christians came also to have the special meaning of "Eucharist," which word is simply the Greek word transliterated. In the same way the verb *εὐχαριστεῖν* may mean simply "to give thanks," or "to join in" or

cup likewise, which is of the same creation as ourselves, He declared to be His blood, and taught the new oblation of the New Covenant. This the Church received from the apostles, and throughout the whole world offers to God, to Him who affords us food as firstfruits of His gifts in the New Covenant, of which covenant Malachy among the twelve prophets thus prophesied: 'My pleasure is not in you, saith the Lord Almighty, and I will not accept a sacrifice from your hands. For from the rising of the sun even to the going down My Name is glorified among the nations, and in every place incense is offered to My Name, and a pure sacrifice: for My name is great among the nations, saith the Lord Almighty'; very evidently signifying by these words, that the former people, indeed, shall cease to offer to God, yet that in every place a sacrifice will be offered to Him, and that a pure one; and that His name is glorified among the nations."[1]

St. Irenæus is not proving his doctrine of the Eucharist, but presupposes it. Arguing against Gnostics, who held that Christ was Son to a God superior to the maker of the world, he emphasizes the fact that it was from this creation that He took the bread and wine which He declared to be His Body and Blood. "How could it have been just for the Lord, if He is of another Father, to take bread, which belongs to the same order as ourselves, and declare it to be His Body, and affirm that the mixed cup[2] was His Blood?"[3] In much the same style St. Irenæus asserts that it would be unjust for the supreme God to take men away from their maker to His own kingdom.

even "to consecrate" the Eucharist. The translation of these words has to be varied according to the sense, but is often difficult, because one meaning does not exclude another.

[1] *Op. cit.* iv. 17.

[2] That is, the mixture of wine and water.

[3] *Op. cit.*, iv. 2.

"(Justin Martyr's) *First Apology* and the *Dialogue with Trypho* contain several passages concerned with the celebration and doctrine of the Eucharist. Written before the close of the first half of the second century,[1] they may be presumed to represent both the Roman and the Asiatic practices and beliefs at the opening of that century, for Justin was familiar with both East and West, and what he describes has nowhere the appearance of innovation. A professedly apologetic work cannot be reformatory or revolutionary; from its very nature it expounds and defends that which is already in settled existence."[2]

In the *Dialogue* Justin speaks thus to his Jewish interlocutors:—

"Moreover, the offering of fine flour, sirs, which was delivered to be offered on behalf of those cleansed from leprosy, was a type of the bread of the Eucharist, which Jesus Christ our Lord delivered to be offered for a remembrance of the suffering which He underwent on behalf of men who are being cleansed in soul from all evil. . . .

"Therefore of the sacrifices then offered by you, God says, as I mentioned before, through Malachy, one of the twelve prophets:—'My pleasure is not in you, saith the Lord, and your sacrifices I will not accept from your hands. For from the rising of the sun even to the going down My name hath been glorified among the nations, and in every place incense is offered to My name, and a pure sacrifice: for My Name is great among the nations, saith the Lord, but you profane it.' Of the sacrifices offered to Him in every place by us who are the nations, that is, of the bread of the Eucharist, and of the cup, likewise, of the Eucharist, He prophesies in that place, saying that we glorify His Name, but that you profane it. . . .

[1] Or perhaps a year or two after it.
[2] *The Early Eucharist*, by W. B. Frankland, M.A., etc., p. 71.

"Now it is evident that in this prophecy,[1] too, (allusion is made) to the bread which our Christ delivered to us to offer for a remembrance of His having become incarnate for the sake of those who believe in Him, for whose sake also He became subject to suffering; and to the cup, which he delivered to us to offer with giving of thanks for a remembrance of His Blood.

"We, who through Jesus' name have believed as one man in God, the maker of all, having put off, through the name of His first-begotten Son, our filthy garments, that is, our sins, and having been set on fire by the word of His calling, are the true high-priestly race of God, as God Himself doth witness, saying that in every place among the nations are those who offer sacrifices well-pleasing to Him and pure. Now God receives sacrifices from no one, except through His priests."[2]

The passage of Justin referred to by Prof. Harnack will be given presently. In the case of Ignatius he is doubtless referring to his use of the word θυσιαστηρίον, "altar," or rather, "altar-enclosure," "sanctuary," a word implying a θυσία, a sacrifice. With the Didache we perhaps cross the threshold of the first century, but a short passage may be quoted:—

"On the Lord's day assemble together and break bread and give thanks, having confessed your transgressions, in order that your sacrifice may be pure. Everyone that is at variance with his neighbour, let him not join you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice be not defiled. For this is that sacrifice which was spoken of by the Lord: 'In every place and time offer Me a pure sacrifice: for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and My Name is wonderful among the nations.'"[3]

[1] Isa. xxxiii. 13–19. [2] *Dial. Tryph.*, 41, 70, 116.

[3] *Didache*, iv. The origin of the Didache, or "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," as it styles itself, is uncertain.

Once more the Eucharist is put forward as the sacrifice which fulfils Malachy's prophecy.

V

The Real Presence

Few, if any, have denied that if the Eucharist be indeed a true sacrifice—the same as that of Calvary in all save the manner of offering, which is unbloody—then that which is offered must needs be Christ's true Body and Blood. Nevertheless some further evidence to that effect may be reviewed.

The two passages from St. Irenæus quoted in the last chapter bear ample witness to the fact, but two more may be brought forward. His point of view must be borne in mind: there is ever question of the various heretical doctrines of the Gnostics.

"How will they be assured that this bread, over which thanks have been given, is their Lord's Body, and that the cup contains His Blood, if they do not call Him the Son of the Creator of the world, that is, His Word . . . . ? How can they say that the flesh goes to corruption, and shares not in life, which is nourished from the Lord's Body, and from His Blood? Either let them change their view, or let them forbear to make the said oblations. But our view is in keeping with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist establishes our view. We offer to Him His own, fittingly announcing fellowship and union of flesh and spirit. For as bread from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God is no longer common bread, but Eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthly and a heavenly, so also our bodies, partaking of the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, but have the hope of the resurrection to eternity."[1]

In the Eucharist the appearances of bread and

[1] *Op. cit.*, iv. 18.

wine evidently remain. If now, while the appearances remain, the bread and wine become Christ's Body and Blood, we have two things, an earthly and a heavenly. But if it were merely supernatural virtue that was given to the bread or wine, it would still remain as much one thing as the water of Baptism. Moreover, bread, so long as it remains bread, can never be Christ's Body.

The following passage is perhaps the clearest of all: St. Irenæus is still using the Eucharist as an argument against Gnostics:—

"But if the flesh be not saved, then neither did the Lord redeem us by His Blood, nor is the cup of the Eucharist the communion of His Blood, nor is the bread which we break the communion of His Body. For there is no blood save from veins and flesh, and from the rest of human substance, wherein being truly made, God's Word redeemed us by His Blood; even as His apostle says: 'In whom we have redemption through His Blood, and remission of sins.'

"And since we are His members, and are nourished by the creation — and the creation He Himself provides for us, making His sun to rise, and sending rain according to His will—the cup which is of creation he avowed His own Blood, from which He imbues our blood, and the bread which is of creation He assured to be His own Body, from which He supports our bodies. Since, therefore, both the mixed cup and the made bread receive God's word, and the Eucharist becomes Christ's Body, and from these the substance of our flesh is supported and sustained; how say they that the flesh cannot receive God's gift, which is everlasting life, seeing that it is nourished from the Lord's Body and Blood, and is his member? Even so speaks the blessed Paul in his epistle to the Ephesians: 'Because we are members of His Body, from His Flesh, and from His

Bones.' He does not say this of some spiritual or incorporeable man, for the spirit has neither bones nor flesh, but of the truly human system, which consists of flesh and sinews and bones; which is nourished both from the cup which is His Blood, and from the Bread which is His Body.

"And as the wood of the vine laid in the earth bears fruit in its proper season, and as the grain of wheat, falling into the earth and being dissolved, is raised manifold through God's Spirit, who upholds all things; and as these thereupon through God's wisdom come to men's use, and, receiving God's word, become Eucharist, which is Christ's Body and Blood: so also our bodies, being nourished from the Eucharist, and put into the ground, and dissolved in it, shall rise again in their proper season, when God's Word grants them resurrection unto the glory of God the Father."[1]

In the following description from Justin Martyr we recognize not only the doctrine of the Real Presence, but the main features of the Mass:—

"Bread and a cup of water and tempered wine is brought to the president of the brethren, and he takes it and sends up praise and glory to the Father of all things through the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and gives thanks at length for our having received these favours from Him. When he has completed the prayers and the thanksgiving, the whole people present responds, saying 'Amen.' Now the word 'Amen' in the Hebrew language signifies 'So be it.' When the president has given thanks and all the people have responded, the deacons, as we call them, give to each of those present to partake of the consecrated bread and wine and water, and they take some away for the absent.

"And this food is with us called Eucharist, and it is not lawful for any man to partake of it but him who believes our teaching to be true, and has been washed

[1] *Op. cit.*, v. 2.

with the washing which is for the forgiveness of sins, and unto a new birth, and is so living as Christ commanded. For it is not as common bread or common drink that we receive these, but as by God's word Jesus Christ our Saviour became flesh, and had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also we have been taught that the food made Eucharist by the word of prayer that comes from Him—food by which our blood and flesh are by a change nourished —is both Flesh and Blood of that Jesus who was made flesh. For the apostles in the memoirs which they composed, which are called gospels, have thus recorded that they were given command—that Jesus took bread and gave thanks and said, 'Do this in remembrance of Me; this is My Body'; and took the cup likewise and gave thanks and said, 'This is My Blood,' and gave of it only to them. . . .

"On the day called Sunday there is a meeting of all who live in town or country, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time allows. Then when the reader has ceased, the president delivers by word of mouth his admonition and exhortation to the following of these excellent things. Then we all rise together and send up prayers. And, as we said before, when we have ceased from prayers, bread is brought and wine and water, and the president likewise offers up prayers and thanksgivings to the best of his power, and the people respond with the 'Amen.' Then follows the distribution to each and the partaking of the consecrated things, and to the absent they are sent through the deacons."[1]

St. Ignatius also presupposes the doctrine of the Eucharist:—

"Be careful to use but one Eucharist: for there is but one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup unto union in His Blood: there is but one altar,

[1] *Just. Apol.*, i. 65–67.

as there is one bishop, together with the presbytery and deacons."[1]

The above is an exhortation to unity.

"Arm yourselves with meekness and revive yourselves in faith, which is the Lord's flesh, and in love, which is Jesus Christ's Blood."[2]

Commenting on this, the Rev. W. B. Frankland, an Anglican writer, says:—

"This is one of Ignatius' fearless metaphors which he does not scruple to employ in addressing Churchmen thoroughly familiar with Eucharistic practice and Eucharistic doctrine."[3]

"I take no delight in the food of corruption or in the delights of this life; I desire God's bread, which is the flesh of Christ, who was of David's seed, and for drink I desire His Blood, which is love incorruptible."[4]

On this Mr. Frankland comments:—

"Here, as elsewhere, it hardly needs mention that theological analysis is far from Ignatius' thoughts. He writes in perfect freedom, with confidence of a sympathetic hearing which would ensure his not being misunderstood."[5]

"They absent themselves from Eucharist and prayer because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the Flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which Flesh suffered for our sins, which the Father of His goodness raised up."[6]

St. Ignatius' view is here clear. This epistle is chiefly aimed against those who denied that Christ took a true human nature, true flesh and blood; consequently they would not join in the Eucharist, which was believed to be His true Flesh and Blood.

In the symbolism of Avircius in his well-known inscription and of the crypt of Lucina in the

[1] *Philad.* 4.
[2] *Trall.* 8.
[3] *Early Eucharist*, pp. 60, 61.
[4] *Rom.* vii.
[5] *Early Eucharist*, p. 61.
[6] *Symrn.* 6.

Catacombs, Christ is the Fish, who is received under the form of bread and wine; but this question cannot be entered upon here. Nor can space be found to treat of the ancient liturgies, which bear common witness to sacrifice and the Real Presence. Though none of them can be assigned with certainty to the second century, essential features of this kind, common to all, must needs date back from that period.

A word upon the doctrine of transubstantiation. The canon of the Council of Trent runs as follows:—

"If anyone shall say, that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there remains the substance of bread and wine, together with the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and shall deny that wonderful and unique conversion of the whole substance of the bread into His Body, and of the whole substance of the wine into His Blood, only the appearances of bread and wine remaining: which conversion the Catholic Church very fitly calls transubstantiation: let him be anathema."[1]

In this doctrine there has of course been development; it does not appear to be till the fourth and fifth centuries, for instance, that we find the fathers using expressions which explicitly signify the change of one substance into another.[2] But a careful consideration of the passages which have been quoted will show that it is the Trent doctrine which is implied. The various expressions cannot be examined at length here: suffice it to point out that the bread and wine, after receiving "the invocation of God," "the word of prayer that comes from Him," which evidently includes Christ's words at the Last Supper, are no longer "common bread" and wine, but are termed without qualification Christ's Body and Blood.

[1] Session xiii., can. 2; Denzinger, No. 884; *cf.* chap. iv. No. 877.

[2] *e.g.* St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Great Catechism*, chap. xxxvii.; St. John Chrysostom, 1st Homily on Judas' Betrayal; and the two Cyrils.

A striking confirmation of this is to be found in the magic rites wherein the gnostic Marcus imitated the Eucharist. He tried to make transubstantiation apparent even to outward sense.

"Pretending to consecrate cups of tempered wine, and protracting the word of invocation to great length, he causes them to appear purple and reddish, so that Charis,[1] who is one of those that are above all, may seem to be distilling her blood into that cup through means of his invocation, and that those present may greatly desire to taste of that drink, that upon them also may drop Charis, as this magician calls her."[2]

Nor should it be forgotten that where transubstantiation has been denied, no firm hold has been kept upon the Real Presence.

VI

The Divinity of Christ

We have already seen how, in the last decade of the second century, Victor "proclaimed Theodotus the leather-dealer, the first to declare that Christ is mere man, cut off from communion."[3] On this point our information is derived from a writer in the first half of the third century, possibly Hippolytus. He further lets us see that this action of Victor's was in keeping with the common doctrine of the Church up to that time. His express purpose, in fact, is to prove against the followers of the heretic Artemon that Christ was always looked upon both as God and man. The following is a part of Eusebius' lengthy quotation from his work:—[4]

[1] That is, "Grace," one of the beings in his system.
[2] Irenæus, *op. cit.*, i. 13.
[3] See above, p. 12.
[4] Eusebius, *Church History*, v. 28.

"They say that all those aforetime, and the apostles themselves, received and taught what they now declare, and that the truth of the Gospel was preserved until the times of Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop in Rome from Peter; but that from the time of his successor, Zephyrinus, the truth has been corrupted. And what they say might perchance be plausible, if first of all the divine Scriptures did not contradict them. And there are writings of certain brethren older than the times of Victor, which they wrote against the heathen in behalf of the truth, and against the heresies of their time: I refer to Justin and Miltiades and Tatian and Clement and many others, by all of whom Christ is spoken of as God. For who does not know the works of Irenæus and Melito and the rest, which proclaim Christ God and man? And how many psalms and hymns of the brethren, written from the beginning by the faithful, celebrate Christ the Word of God, speaking of Him as God! Since, then, the view of the Church has been proclaimed for so many years, how is it possible that those before Victor should have preached as these men say they did? How is it they are not ashamed to slander Victor thus, knowing well that Victor proclaimed Theodotus the leather-dealer, the author and father of this God-denying apostasy, and the first to declare that Christ is mere man, cut off from communion? For if Victor agreed with their opinions, as the calumny of these men teaches, how came he to cast out Theodotus, the inventor of this heresy?"

We have here the important witness of one who lived but a short time after the period with which he is dealing, and had access to many works which have since perished. So far as his statements can be tested, however, their truth is amply confirmed. We may briefly consider some passages from the writers whom he names.

Melito was bishop of Sardis in Asia Minor about the middle of the second century. Like Justin's disciple Tatian,[1] he speaks of God having suffered. He also writes, "Being at once God and perfect man, He has manifested to us His two natures."[2]

St. Irenæus, after remarking that the wise men offered Christ frankincense "because He was God," continues:—

"Inasmuch as God's Word was man . . . God's Spirit rested upon Him, and He was anointed to preach the Gospel to the lowly. But inasmuch as He was God, He judged not according to fame, nor according to talk did He reprove."[3]

In a later chapter, which opens with the words, "God therefore became man," he proceeds to argue as follows from Isaiah vii. 10–16:—

"The Holy Ghost hath therefore diligently signified by these words His birth, which is of a virgin, and His substance, that He is God (for the name Emmanuel means this); and He shows Him to be man, in that He says, 'Butter and honey shall He eat.' . . . But as to His 'not consenting to wickedness, that He may choose the good,' this is proper to God: that we might not understand Him to be only a mere man, because of His eating butter and honey, nor again suspect Him to be God without flesh, on account of the name Emmanuel."[4]

"Christ," says Justin Martyr, another of the witnesses alleged by Hippolytus, "being God's first-begotten Word, is also God."[5] The doctrine plays such an integral part in his Dialogue with the Jew

[1] Tatian, *Adv. Graecos*, 13.

[2] Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, I. pp. lviii, lxi; the Syriac fragment on the former page is no less explicit, but appears more open to suspicion, than the fragments in the original Greek just cited, which it accompanies.

[3] *Against Heresies*, iii. 9.

[4] *Op. cit.*, iii. 21.

[5] *Apol.*, i. 63.

Trypho that no mere citation is really adequate. One typical passage may be given :—

"'But had you known, Trypho,' said I, 'who He is that is called at one time angel of great counsel, and a man by Ezekiel, and like to a son of man by Daniel, and a child by Isaiah, and Christ and adorable God by David, . . . you would not have blasphemed Him. . . . For, had you understood what has been said by the prophets, you would not have denied that He was God, Son of the only and unbegotten and unutterable God.'"[1]

Of the early writers mentioned in the quotation given at the outset of the chapter only Miltiades and Clement remain. The former wrote in Asia Minor in the latter half of the second century; but his works have perished. Lightfoot is doubtless right in arguing, in his note on the passage about to be quoted, that Clement of Rome must be referred to, not Clement of Alexandria, who flourished too late to be here in question. It also appears from Lightfoot's note that the reading here translated is reasonably safe. St. Clement writes :—

"Ye were all lowly in mind, in no wise arrogant, subject rather than subjecting, more gladly giving than receiving, content with the provisions supplied by God:[2] and giving heed unto His words, you took them diligently to heart, and His sufferings were before your eyes."[3]

In the same way St. Ignatius of Antioch writes to the Romans, "Suffer me to be an imitator of my God's suffering,"[4] and speaks quite simply of "God's Blood."[5]

The evidence for the Divinity of Christ may also be approached from a somewhat different point of

[1] *Tryph.*, 126.
[2] The alternative reading is "Christ."
[3] Clem. Rom., 1 *Cor.* ii.
[4] *Rom.* vi. [5] *Eph.* i.

view. The *Didache* expressly prescribes baptism "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,"[1] and Justin Martyr further guarantees the primitive use of the same formula when he tells us that "in the name of God the Father and Lord of all things, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost do they perform the washing in water."[2] Viewed in the light of the Christian literature of the time, this official setting of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost alongside of each other, like that in Matthew xxviii. 19, can only be taken to imply the doctrine of the Divine Three in One. The same is true of the early Creed, which cannot, however, be discussed here. But we find the same significant juxtaposition elsewhere, for example, in Clement of Rome: "As God liveth, and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Ghost."[3] A sentence of Athenagoras, who addressed his "Plea for the Christians" to the Roman emperors about the year 177 A.D., is also worth mentioning in this connection. The important thing for Christians to know is, "what is the unity of the Son with the Father, what the communion of the Father with the Son, what the Spirit; what is the unity of these three, the Spirit, the Son, and the Father, and their distinction in unity."[4]

We may now turn to two non-Christians who were both in close contact with Christian belief, though under widely different circumstances.

In 111 A.D. the Emperor Trajan sent Pliny on a special mission to set in order the cities of Bithynia. He examined a large number of Christians, executed some, and, for the sake of obtaining further information, put two deaconesses to the torture. He reports that the apostates asserted that they had been wont

[1] *Didache*, c. 7. [2] *Just. Apol.*, i. 61.
[3] Clem. Rom., 1 *Cor.* lviii.
[4] *Legatio pro Christianis*, xii.

"to sing by turns a hymn to Christ as a god"[1]; and he himself seems satisfied as to the truth of this statement. The significance of the fact is enhanced when we realise from Pliny's letter the very large proportion of Christians in the province, and the fact that a fair number of them derived their faith from apostolic times.

The other witness is a spiteful playmate. One of the rude scratchings on the walls of the "Domus Gelotiana" on the Palatine at Rome represents a man with the head of a donkey upon a cross, while another stands by his side in prayer to him.[2] It is inscribed, "Alexamenos worships his god." We know from Tertullian that it was a popular slander about this time to represent the God of the Christians as a donkey.[3] These "graffiti" were made towards the end of the second century. At that date, then, Alexamenos, a Christian page in the imperial palace, is thus derided for worshipping a crucified God.

The evidence is still far from being exhausted; but we may here conclude with the opening words of what was at one time thought to be a second epistle of St. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, but is most likely a Corinthian homily from about the middle of the second century:

"Brethren, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ, as of God."

It has been my object to deal with the crucial epoch that follows the period of the "Greek Testament" up to the end of the second century. The few quotations from Cardinal Newman which make up the first section may serve to give a general impression of the Christianity of the period, and to suggest how unscientific it is to isolate the doctrine of the "New Testament" as the full expression of Christianity when a historic process of lawful development is involved. Nowadays, indeed, the prevalent practice

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[1] Pliny, *Epp.*, x. 96.

[2] It may be seen in Marucchi, *Éléments d'Archéologie chrétienne*, i. 4.

[3] *Apol.*, xvi.

is to depict the second century as a period of unrestrained drifting and syncretistic flux. How entirely opposed is this conception, whether as regards organization, worship, or doctrine, to that of the early Church itself, is apparent from such quotations as it has been possible to insert in the remaining sections. We find obedience to the one Church founded by Christ, and belief in the definite doctrines delivered to her by Christ, all strongly inculcated as a grave duty. Then, as now, the strength of the true Church, as contrasted with the heresies and false religions about her, lay in exclusiveness, not in comprehensiveness; in emphasis, not in modification.[1]

The development of organization and doctrine in the second century appears to have been slow. The liturgical development was naturally rather more rapid, but did not affect the doctrine of the Eucharist, any more than the rapid propagation in our own times of the rite of Benediction does. Students of Comparative Religion too frequently confuse husk with kernel. Here, as so often, it is Mr. Chesterton who utters the word in season:

"There is a phrase of facile liberality uttered again and again at ethical societies and parliaments of religion: 'The religions of the earth differ in rites and forms, but they are the same in what they teach.' It is false; it is the opposite of the fact. The religions of the earth do *not* greatly differ in rites and forms; they do greatly differ in what they teach." (*Orthodoxy*, p. 236.)

[1] For the early period *cf.* Lectures 14, 15, 16; for modern times, Lecture 24 and Vol. IV. in general.

CATHOLIC BOOKS RECOMMENDED

J. H. Newman, *The Development of Christian Doctrine.*
Dom John Chapman, O.S.B., *Bishop Gore and the Catholic Claims.*
Rev. Sylvester Hunter, S.J., *Outlines of Dogmatic Theology*, vol. i.: *The Christian Revelation; The Channel of Doctrine; Holy Scripture; The Church; The Roman Pontiff; Faith.*
Rev. T. Gilmartin, *Manual of Church History*, vol. i.
Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport, *The Holy Eucharist.*
Rev. C. Coupe, S.J., *Lectures on the Eucharist.*
Mgr. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Église.* Tome I.
J. Tixeront, *La Théologie anténicéenne.*

ST. AUGUSTINE

By C. C. Martindale, S.J.

I

The *Confessions* of St. Augustine have possibly, next to the New Testament, exercised a greater influence on the religion of all Europe than any other book. We may, perhaps, except the Psalms; and we do not forget the *Imitation of Christ.* Still, the Psalms are obscure, and thoroughly Hebraic: the *Imitation* has spoken to but five centuries, where Augustine has moulded fifteen. À Kempis remains ever the ascetic, pre-eminently the monk; and, for all his wide sympathy and tenderly penetrating insight, cannot but influence, almost exclusively, the interior and spiritual life. Augustine vindicates, by almost every title, the attention and admiration of the historian, the psychologist, the philosopher, the theologian, the practical ruler of men, the recluse; above all, of the struggling soul "made for God, and restless until it rests in Him."

"He could express," writes Harnack, "the sense of consolation for the misery of sin with a strength of feeling and in words of an overwhelming force such as no one before him ever displayed; nay, more: he managed by what he wrote to go so straight to the souls of millions, to describe so precisely their inner condition, and so impressively and overpoweringly to put the consolation before them, that what he felt has been felt again and again for 1500 years. Up to the very day in which we live, so far as Catholic Christians are concerned, inward and vivid religious fervour, and the expression which it takes, are in their whole character Augustinian."[1] Indeed, he lays down the spirit of Augustine as the third essential constituent of Roman

[1] *What is Christianity?* 1904, p. 263.

Catholicism;[1] and declares[2] that "nowhere in the religious history of the West is a man to be found who for importance and for influence can be compared with him." Mr. Cunningham[3] says of him that "he still towers as a master of Christian thought above all who have followed him in Western Christendom; there has been no crisis of religious history in later days when men have not turned to him for direction."

And Dom Leclercq[4] concludes his splendid appreciation of Augustine by asserting:

"Only with difficulty we can grasp all the subjects he was able to set forth, and we have to remember that he had, moreover, to conceive them first. That is enough to stamp his greatness. His qualities of heart did not fall short of his intelligence; and he is probably the man who, since his death, has been more than all others admired and loved. He is also, perhaps, the one man who has the most fully understood Christianity, who has felt it the most passionately; and, in the twenty centuries of its history, we can see none but St. Paul to whom he may be compared."

In the limits of this lecture, where almost any one fact or citation might be paralleled by a hundred others probably quite as valuable, we shall try, in our bald exposition of Augustine's doctrine, to insist on those points where he drew away from the East, or has influenced Western history, or is in special contact with modern thought.[5]

II

At Tagaste, a tiny market-town of Numidia, Aurelius Augustine was born on 13th November 354.

[1] *What is Christianity?* pp. 260–265.

[2] *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, iii. p. 92, 1890.

[3] *St. Austin and his Place in Christian Thought*, 1886 (Hulsean Lectures for 1885).

[4] *L'Afrique chrétienne*, Lecoffre, 1904, ii. p. 5.

[5] We trust to be forgiven, if we illustrate (not prove) our assertions, by referring not to the separate works of Augustine, cumbrous in title and numbering, but to the volume and column of the revised Patrology of Migne, in which, indeed, he is most easily available. We are at every turn indebted to M. Portalié's exhaustive articles on "Augustine" in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, i., cols. 2268–2472; (and (shorter) in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, ii.), "The Augustinian Rule," *ib.*, 2472–2483; "Historical Development of Augustinism," 2501–2561.

Son of a mixed marriage, he received from his mother Monnica the Christian education which his father Patritius scorned. Yet baptism was not conferred on him, though, in a dangerous illness, he begged for it.

Patritius cherished high dreams for his son's future, and strained his resources to educate a mind keen from the first, but frivolous. Augustine's reminiscences of this period are touched with a pathetic humour. He prayed hard, but to avoid floggings; games of ball made havoc of his studies, though his curiosity already went towards the sports and shows of grown men. And so, behind the flapping curtain which alone screened off the schoolroom from the street, he stood in the row of boys, droning the loathsome sing-song "one and one make two," loving his Latin, weeping over Dido's suicide, thrilled already by the melancholy grandeur of the *Æneid*,[1] excited to think Æneas really came to Carthage, but detesting beyond description his Greek.

Strangely enough, besides the conviction of an unseen Providence to be prayed to, and a fear of judgement, the sweetness of the name of Jesus thrilled him, and literature which lacked it seemed insipid.

The neighbouring town of Madaura completed, by exercises in rhetoric and literary discussion, the first part of his education, and in his sixteenth year he returned to Tagaste, and here (for his father could not economize fast enough to send him at once to the University town of Carthage) he spent the year in a fatal idleness, flinging himself into dissipation so inevitable to the hot African blood that even Christians shrugged their shoulders, repeating the proverb, "Let him do as he likes: he is not yet baptized!" In 370, assisted by Romanianus, the Mæcenas of Tagaste, he made his way to Carthage. Here sensual pleasure reigned supreme; Augustine became its delighted slave. Tertullian and Cyprian,

[1] *Aen.* ii. 772 haunted him; a memory too beautiful to be exorcised.

the two earlier of that great African triad, had passed that way. In Carthage, where the obscene processions of the Mother of the Gods, or the Heavenly Virgin, still disgraced the streets, where even business turned on the fabrication of rich stuffs and *objets de luxe*, where favourite jockeys or ballet-dancers or gladiators occasioned recurring riots, and sea-monsters and captured gorillas (believed to be savage women) made for popular excitements, Augustine held himself "abject, if innocent; despicable, if pure"; he "banqueted upon iniquity," and "to feel shame was the greatest shame of all." Yet even while he joined the wildest and most riotous young men of Carthage—the *eversores* was their nickname—the prayer, "Give me chastity, but not yet," haunted his soul.

In 372 a son, Adeodatus, whom he passionately loved, was born of a mother to whom he consecrated, for fifteen years, at least "fidelity in sin."

The first stage in Augustine's conversion seems strange enough. Fragments alone survive of Cicero's dialogue, the *Hortensius*, which fell, at this moment, into his hands. Its glowing panegyric of Philosophy fired his intellectual imagination. Already soulsick of wantonness, his hopes began to turn to the conquest of immortality through wisdom. "I was beginning to rise that I might return to Thee." But though the stately Ciceronian periods lacked that grace of the name of Christ, the majestic march of the Latin and his early love for the golden cadences of Vergil turned him, for the time, even further from the Scriptures, with their contempt for form rendered still harsher in the crabbed versions of his day. Yet even this literary sensitiveness he later on "baptized"; and uniting in himself the elaborate oratory of Africa, where Tertullian had been disciple of the prismatic prose of Apuleius, with an Italian ambition to mould classical Latin to Christian use, he combined those two styles

in "proportions which, throughout the Middle Ages, form the accepted language of Latin Christianity."[1]

For the time, however, conversion seemed indefinitely distant. Augustine, in this same year 373, joined the Manichean sect.

Mani, a Persian, born about 215 A.D., taught materialistic dualism. Light *is* substantial Good ; Darkness, Evil. Light was a kingdom, headed by a spirit, God ; Darkness, a godless kingdom which produced Satan. In our world a ceaseless battle rages between these elements. Particularly in man the principles of Light and Dark fight for mastery : *he* is not responsible for the evil in him. Satan engendered Adam, in whose descendants light, however, survives—in women, barely a spark. Prophets and preachers, including Christ (not the historical Jesus, but a contemporary spirit) and Paul, are sent to free the imprisoned Light, till it reconstitutes its unmixed kingdom above a lake of Darkness.

Hence a rigid asceticism, and abstention from all that held elements of Darkness—flesh meat, wine, sexual desire, and marriage. The few who assumed these austerities were the "Elect," or "Perfect," and could intercede and merit for, and practically redeem the many who were "Catechumens." We need not detail the hierarchy and ritual of the Western Manichean

[1] Professor Mackail, *Latin Literature*, p. 249. As for the Scriptures, Harnack has said that Augustine's influence, even more than Jerome's Vulgate, lifted the Bible, in the West, to a position it had never held in the East. His assertion of the canonicity of the Deuterocanonic books (Jerome still hesitated) became authoritative there. Catholics have, however, altogether abandoned his belief that the Septuagint is inspired, and that *all* the meanings which a careful reader could read into the text were its legitimate interpretation, and directly intended by the Holy Ghost. His African passion, his astounding ingenuity, his practical and often polemical aim, his fondness for allegory, and determination to create a biblical "concordism," led him into exegetic extravagances where none can follow him. Yet, "an admirable example of his well-ordered liberty," writes Fr. Portalié, "appears in his thesis on the simultaneous creation of the universe, and the gradual development of the world under the action of the natural forces which were placed in it." But Augustine's doctrine of the primitive "confused and nebulous mass," containing the germs of future evolution, does not mean that he held the fluidity of species, nor the transformation of homogeneity into the heterogeneous. He constantly proclaimed creation *ex nihilo*, and though all things, plants, animals, even Adam and Eve (34^{343}) existed from the very beginning "invisibly, potentially, in their causes," yet God will have intervened directly more than once, notably for the making of man's body, and always for the creation and infusion into the body of the human soul ($34^{388, 405}$), *cf. inf.*, p. 28, n.

Church, which were closely modelled on the Christian. Religiously, it offered a very simple, though false, solution to the problem of Evil, which tormented the conscience of the second and third centuries of our era. Its morality appeared lofty, its worship spiritual, its promises sublime; it flattered the educated by subordinating authority to reason.

It survived long in the Far East, yielding in Central Asia to the Mongol invasions. The Vandals extirpated it in Africa, though it continued to inspire, at least indirectly, heretical sects as late as the thireeenth-century Albigenses.

To this sect Augustine abandoned himself for nine years, flattered, as he tells us (40[66]) by its intellectualism, greedy for its boasted scientific lore, puzzled by Biblical difficulties which its rejection of the Old Testament evaded (38[336]), dazzled by its parade of purity, and conscience-drugged by the thought that not he, but darkness in him, was the real sinner. Passionately he warred against Catholicism: eagerly he made proselytes. A brilliant period of successes now opened, first at Tagaste, then at Carthage itself;[1] and the dazzling and irregular life culminated in his public coronation by the proconsul for triumph in a joust of versifying.

Monnica meanwhile, in her first horror of grief, had forbidden the apostate her house and table. Soon she received him back: a bishop, of Tagaste doubtless, had assured her that the "son of her tears never could be lost," and the words, since that time, have comforted the aching heart of many a mother.

And, indeed, Augustine kept back something in his self-surrender.[2] He never joined the "elect," but remained a "hearer." Nervously subconscious that the Manicheans destroyed, but built up nothing (42[30]), he saw that they failed, for all that, to disprove even

[1] At Tagaste he taught grammar; at Carthage rhetoric.

[2] Though scorning magic, he fled to astrology, to make sure of moral irresponsibility. "The stars," he argued, "rule our lives." Not reason or ridicule, but the divergent fortunes of two children, born, however, in an identical conjunction of the stars, were to deliver him from this abdication of his selfhood.

the Scripture arguments of the Catholics (32^{716}, 42^{69}, 33^{272}). Their flagrant immorality clashed shockingly with their boasted continence (32^{1372-8}). Above all, Faustus of Mileve, their famous bishop and protagonist, to whose solutions Augustine had been referred in every difficulty, proved, on acquaintance, a shallow rhetorician who took his science second hand.

Disgusted and disillusioned, Augustine left Carthage secretly for Rome in 383.

At Rome he fell dangerously ill, but never asked for baptism. He recovered, and resumed his private classes. But his pupils, less turbulent than those of Carthage, were also less generous. Augustine, with no reputation but many rivals, could not make a living: he must leave Rome. The office of professor of oratory in the public schools of Milan at this moment fell vacant. Augustine obtained an introduction to the greatest orator of the time, the pagan Symmachus, prefect of Rome, who, enchanted with his talent, sent him in an imperial carriage to Milan, whither Monnica soon followed him.

Here, between 383 and 386, he passed through three distinct phases. In his reaction from Manicheism he fell into universal scepticism—the "Academic Doubt," as it was still called. But in the midst of this fearful spiritual isolation, he met Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, one of the most influential personages in the whole empire at that time.

The Bishop, flooded with business of all sorts, his palace thronged with clients, could give Augustine but little time; but, in Ambrose's sermons, the young professor for the first time heard Christian doctrine exposed in literary form and with mystical interpretations of the Scriptures, and he eagerly followed them. Still, he doubted; "a catechumen till some gleam of certainty should dawn." And all the while "I grew more wretched, and Thou more near."

It was at this moment that Augustine was given

some books of Plato (the *Timæus*?), and no doubt of Plotinus. A phase followed of wild enthusiasm for that Neoplatonist religion, and, indeed, Platonism coloured the whole future thought of Augustine, and thus this gift of Plato's writings set a current in the thought of Western Christendom.

We may at once indicate the Platonistic element in Augustine's doctrine. He believed that Plato lifted him to a true and almost worthy knowledge of God. Early in his Christian career (32^{957}) he declares:

"My decision is never at all to recede from Christ's authority: I can find none more cogent. But this we must follow up with all possible subtlety of reasoning; for my mood now is, that I eagerly desire to apprehend what Truth is, not only by believing, but by understanding; meanwhile I am convinced that I shall discover among the Platonists nothing repugnant to our religion."

The Platonists are, therefore, the only serious antagonists — just because they need so slight a change to make them Christians! ($32^{740, 955}$, 33^{441-8}).

That the aim of all philosophy was to know, to copy, and lovingly to exult in God, he learnt then from Plato and never forgot; the spirituality of God, and our consequent duty of checking the imagination and silencing the senses if we would reach Him; the sublime synthesis according to which God is ultimate Being, Truth, and Goodness, and source of these created qualities in the universe; the unification therein of his three great theories—of Creation, of Revelation by the Word (the expression of God's Self to our intelligences), and of our Elevation, by Grace, to the unific vision of that supreme Good after which we strain; and his division of philosophy, on this basis, into physical, logic, and moral, all this he learnt first and most thoroughly from Plato. And many a formula of Platonic ethics have passed, through Augustine, into Christian literature.

Relentlessly, however, he rejected many an aberra-

tion of Plato or his school—the eternal and inevitable emanation or generation of the world from the divine substance; the hierarchy of intermediate beings presiding over the birth of its several stages; and metempsychosis. In short, he separated himself from Plato mainly in his doctrine of God; from the Neo-Platonists, in his doctrine of the Universe.

He might have gone further. Doubtful whether the Trinity were really indicated in Plato, he hesitated not to recognise in him, in a fulness which neither philosophy nor history can tolerate, the Catholic doctrine of the Word, His nature, His creative office, His relation to man's soul. But, after rehearsing St. John's sublime exordium, when he reaches the Word's humiliations and man's exaltation in the suffering Man Christ Jesus, he confesses (32[740]):

"Now in those books I found that He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. But that He came unto His own, and His own received Him not; while unto as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become sons of God, believing in His Name—not *there* read I. . . . And in those writings I traced it stated in manifold wise that the Son is in the form of the Father, thinking it not robbery to be equal to God, because by nature that is what He is. But that He emptied Himself, taking the form of a slave, and in habit was found as man, and humiliated Himself, being made obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross . . . those books have not! . . . For thou hast hidden these things from the wise, and revealed them unto little ones, that unto Him the labouring and the heavy-burdened might come, and He refresh them, because He is meek and humble of heart . . . . and to the gentle teacheth He His ways, seeing our lowliness and our labour, and forgiving us all our sins" (Conf. vii. c. 9).

Yet he was always grateful he had discovered Plato before Paul, lest, had he grown first to love the writings of the New Testament, he had been tempted to read into Plato what really was not there. Like a man, he says, on a woodland knoll, Plato might catch the blessed vision of peace, the Father-country. He could not, passionately as he desired it, attain thereto.

Christ's highway, safe and clear, leads now to that same goal: man has the light and the strength for his journey: the dream is become life.

Had Augustine done nothing but hand on to Western Europe, at an hour when all links with the priceless past were snapping, the majestic Latin tongue, and the treasures of Plato, our debt would already be incalculable.[1]

Augustine's deliverance was not, however, immediate. Yet a power was drawing him, and to resist was agony. Above all, conscience clamoured against the life which he had, by the departure of Adeodatus's mother, momentarily abandoned, but resumed with another companion. Intellectually, Augustine believed himself convinced. "I had found the goodly pearl: and, at the price of all I had, I should have bought it; and I hesitated." His two wills, "one old, one new; one of the flesh, one of the spirit, fought angrily together, and my soul was on the rack." The Life of St. Antonius, read to him by a friend, marked a crisis:

"Thou, Lord, in his words wast twisting me back to myself .... wast setting me before my face, that I might see how foul I was, how distorted and filthy, how soiled and ulcered. And I saw, and shuddered, and could flee myself nowhither. And if I tried to turn my gaze from myself, the reader went on reading, and Thou placedst me once more before my own face, and thrustedst me before my own eyes, that I might find my iniquity and loathe it. ... The day had come when I lay naked to myself. ...

[1] Augustine found that his zeal for Platonism left him with many statements to modify, most of which are mentioned in his first *Book of Retractations*. Thus the Platonic horror of matter led him falsely to conceive, and practically to deny, the Resurrection of the body ($32^{590\text{-}601}$); to the soul, on the other hand, he had been inclined to concede pre-natal existence, and to explain its ideas by its memory of that state (*cf.* Lect. xii., p. 10), and had hesitated whether there might not be one soul for all (32^{587}, etc.). He had yielded to the fascination of the World-Soul doctrine, and had dreamt of the One Mind moving through the universe (32^{602}). To the end he seems to have hesitated as to the nature of those mysterious spiritual beings—angels, souls, demons—with which, like Plato, he peopled his world ($32^{602\text{-}610}$).

With what scourge of argument lashed I not my soul, that she should follow me who sought to follow Thee! But she struggled and refused, and made no excuse. For all her reasonings had been consumed and defeated: only a dumb shrinking still remained" (32[756]).

Augustine, on reaching home, sought the garden, with his friend, Alypius, terrified, at his side. The "merciful severity" of the Lord was there, scourging him to the snapping of the last meshes of sin.

"And I kept saying in my heart, 'Let it be now! Let it be now!' And as I spoke, I made towards the resolve. I was all but doing it, and I did it not: yet I stepped not wholly back, but I would stand still hard by, and draw breath. And again I would try: and by a little less I was there, and again by a little less; all but—all but—I reached and I held; and lo, I was not there, and reached not, and held not, hesitating to die to death. . . . . The empty trifles, and the vanities of vanities, my loves of yore, still held me back, plucking softly at my robe of flesh, and softly whispering, 'Wilt thou dismiss us? And from this moment shall not this and that be allowed to thee any more for ever? From this moment shall we be with thee never any more for ever? . . . Thinkest thou to do without these things?' . . . . But from the other side behold a vision of the chaste dignity of Continence, serene in cheer . . . . smiling and calling me."

It was the army of the pure, boys and girls, men and women, virgin equally. "What they could do, cannot you?" The words came back and back. Bursting into a storm of tears, Augustine tore himself from Alypius, ran to the furthest part of the garden, flung himself on his face beneath a fig-tree, and sobbed and prayed. A child's voice reached him, singing from the neighbouring house some trifling rhyme: "*Take it, read it! Take it, read it!*" Half dazed, Augustine rose, returned to Alypius, opened his scroll and read:

"Not in riotings and drunkenness, not in chamberings and impurities, not in contention and envy. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh in its lusts" (Rom. 13[13-14]).

In calm and silence, the miracle was worked. His will was healed; he went direct to Monnica, and the old life dropped from him like a garment. Of this

appalling moral struggle the *Confessions* are the unique and priceless document. The agony, the calm, and the exultation following are told with a human poignancy that not diversity of race, or circumstance, or century can ever blunt.

A fellow-professor, Verecundus, put at Augustine's disposal his country-house of Cassiciacum, situated in the exquisite lake-country of North Italy. Thither, with a number of his younger relatives and friends, and also Adeodatus and Monnica, Augustine retired to prepare for baptism. Nothing, however, could be less true than to picture a semi-monastic retreat all silence, penance, and prayer. For now began his gigantic correspondence, in part surviving. He managed the estate, studied, wrote, commented on the pagan authors which, before his conversion, had grown so tedious; lectured one day on a whole book of Vergil before dinner; held, above all,—with his younger companions, and Monnica always there to interpose a shrewd remark—set debates upon all sorts of philosophical subjects. In fine weather, these took place on the wooded hillside; when it was wet, in the vast bathing-hall, always with a shorthand writer present to fix the flying argument.

Always the thought of God and Christianity dominates these discussions; the Scriptures are re-read with doubled care; prayer mounts to ecstasy; repentance and self-contempt are still intense, but with never an accent of the old despair.

During the Lent of 387, Augustine, Adeodatus, and Alypius prepared for baptism, which they received probably on Easter Saturday. In the autumn Augustine went to Rome with the purpose of retiring to a hermit's life in Africa, when, at the port of Ostia, Monnica fell ill.

In the incomparable chapters of the 9th book of his *Confessions*, Augustine relates how, alone with his mother, he stood looking forth through a window

upon the garden at Ostia, while she spoke with him of the eternal life of the saints; and how, in the hush of all creation, their souls were rapt in God.

Monnica, whose last wish had been to see her son baptized, careless now of her old anxiety to be buried near her husband—"nothing is far from God"—died peacefully a few days after, asking nothing but a daily *memento* at that altar "from which she knew the sacred victim, whereby the handwriting against us is blotted out, was dispensed."

Augustine ends his own exquisite prayer for his mother by begging his readers to remember her too at the altar:

"Let them remember, with tender affection, my parents in this transitory light, and my brothers under Thee, my Father, in my mother the Catholic Church, and my fellow-citizens in the Eternal Jerusalem, whereunto sighs the pilgrimage of thy people from their setting forth even to their return; that her last petition to me may be the more fully granted, by the prayers of many, through these my confessions, than through my own poor prayers."

In 388 Augustine reached Tagaste, sold his valuables, retired with his friends into a monastic seclusion, and there remained till 391. In that year, during a visit to Hippo, a popular outburst of enthusiasm acclaimed him priest. On the property of Valerius, who ordained him, he founded a second monastery. The office of preaching, in Africa (deplorably enough, Jerome says) reserved to bishops, was by an exception extended to him. His literary and controversial activity had been from the outset prodigious; he took an influential part in more than one council; he abolished, with infinite difficulty, the pagan survival of feasting on the martyrs' tombs; he fought various heresies by writing and in public conference, especially the Manichean, whose leading exponent, Fortunnatus, actually fled from Hippo. Probably in 396, the inevitable episcopate (first in coadjutorship to Valerius) was thrust upon Augustine.

From this point we shall leave the historical consideration of Augustine's life for that of his doctrinal writings and influence, which arose, however, from the necessity imposed on him of combating the several heresies active during his stormy episcopate.

III

I. MANICHEISM. — *Augustine's Doctrine of Faith and Reason.*—From his very conversion Augustine had not ceased to combat Manicheism; as bishop he continued his polemic, but most gently, remembering the anguish of his own deliverance (42[174]).

Here, recalling the Manichean idolatry of reason, we shall but outline his treatment of those fundamental and most modern of problems, Certainty, Reason, Authority, Faith, and their mutual relations.

Better than Descartes, he established a Doctrine of Certainty on the personal realization of the Principle of Contradiction—*I doubt, therefore I am*—against the universal scepticism significant of his decadent age. From the platform of personal existence he springs straight to God: the finite and mutable self proves, with certainty, the Absolute. But again and again he affirms in all things—even in Natural Philosophy—a heart of mystery. "Know what thou knowest not, lest thou know nought at all." Hence his bold assertion of the *Will's* prime place in gaining certainty: Religion, even Philosophy, is not only doctrine, but Life: Love seeks: Purity sees. The bearing of this on the most modern of controversies is obvious.

Harnack holds Augustine to have been the first to recognize and struggle to solve the problem which comes first in all questions of Dogmatic Religion—the relation of Reason to Authority.

Reason comes ever first, and proves the credibility of the witnesses to that in which our Faith is asked.

Even when they testify to what outstrips Reason, a *quantulacumque ratio* (33^{453}), "some minimum of Reason" must still precede, to make it reasonable for us to submit our reason. Even in believing, Faith never quite forgets her grounds of trust: but before we gain full intelligence of Truth, Faith must have appeared. "Understand to believe; then, believe to understand," is his anticipation of Anselm's famous postulate of a Faith which seeks Understanding (38^{258}). "Though no one," he cries, "unless he understand somewhat, can believe in God, yet that very faith whereby he believes gives him health to understand more fully. For there is that which, if we understand it not, we cannot believe; and that which, unless we believe it, we cannot understand" (37^{1552}).

Christian Apologetics must ensure to us this preliminary understanding. They show Authority reasonable, and refute objections. They assume a Guiding Providence, for chance, or arbitrary interference, would stultify reasoning. Augustine's argument travels through proof from miracles to (better) prophecies fulfilled, or to his favourite theme, the standing miracle of the Church, her world-conquest, her moral transformation of man.

Tradition and Bible are sources of our knowledge, but derive their value from the living voice of this Church. The Church gives us the Scriptures, tells us what they are, and how to interpret them; she offers the Book, but with it the Creed. "I should not believe the Gospel," he roundly asserts, "did not the authority of the Catholic Church impel me" (42^{176}).

But of his teaching on Scripture we have spoken, (p. 5), and of his ecclesiology we shall speak below (p. 17).

II. DONATISM.—*The Church and Sacraments.*—When Augustine came to Hippo, the Donatist schism had existed for about a century.

The main theological points of difference were, whether the sacraments depended for their validity on the faith and even moral state of the minister; and whether a sinner was at once excluded by his sin from the Catholic Church. The illegitimate deposing of the Bishop of Carthage, and the setting up of a rival bishop, in 312, marked the immediate declaration of the sect. By 330 A.D. it could convene a synod of 270 bishops. Meanwhile, the Emperor—the Donatists were the first to appeal, in this struggle, to the secular arm, and the first also to declare their entire independence from the imperial power when it turned against them—alternately repressed and tolerated a movement which soon became a serious focus of anarchy. For the Donatists gathered round them fanatical bands of brigands, responsible for recurrent outbreaks of arson, pillage, and bloodshed directed against the Catholics. To throw corrosives in their adversaries' eyes seems to have been a favourite tactic with these men, who are best comparable to the revolutionary sects of the Middle Ages. Indeed, Harnack, Döllinger, and Leclercq see here an assertion of African nationality against the Empire.

Augustine's earlier influence was all for toleration. He sought for friendly discussions and interviews; he inspired conciliar decisions mitigating the disabilities of Donatist converts; he begged the Pope to admit their children to candidature for ordination.[1] The Donatists redoubled their violence, refused all discussion, and attempted to murder the Bishops of Calama and Bagaia, and even Augustine himself.

In 404 Augustine tells us that the violence of these rebels decided him to alter his tactics. A series of imperial edicts provoked further resistance: in Augustine's correspondence we can watch the progress of the struggle, the constant stream of converts, the severe measures tempered always by the Bishop's prayer that death be never the punishment of heresy alone (33^{366}; *cf.* ^{302}, etc.).

The famous conference of 411 between 286 Catholic and 279 Donatist bishops was ordered by decree of the Emperor Honorius. Marcellinus, the Imperial delegate, gave the victory at all points to Augustine's irrefutable argument. From this

[1] See J. Martin, *S. Aug.*, 1901, 373-388, a study of the saint's theory of toleration (*cf.* 33^{792}).

time conversions were rapid, but repression was still severe: more than once Augustine begged for more gentleness. Not until the Vandal invasions did Donatism, like Manicheism, vanish from North Africa.[1]

(*a*) The practical genius of the West had naturally left metaphysics to the Greeks, and occupied itself with the moral life and Law: *sin* was the problem for the Christian conscience there, and church government a main pre-occupation. The specialized form which the Donatist schism gave to these questions in Africa occasioned the elaboration of Augustine's theory of Church, priesthood, sacraments, and holiness.

It was founded, however, on the natural law recognised by East and West alike, that man is essentially "political," and that all human life must express itself in terms of social organism. The individualistic religion of the Reform would have been as unintelligible to Augustine as any theory which denied the state would have been to Plato or Aristotle, and as revolting to his instinct as anarchy ever was to Rome.

Never forgetful, then, that the Church was one thing with Christ, in her alone, he taught, the Christian could find life. As he was Adam, she was Eve; God is our Father, she our mother; when Christ was incarnate in Mary's womb, then she was espoused to Him.

"One thing I commend to your prayers," he preached. "From one not a Catholic turn away your thoughts, turn away your ears,

[1] Augustine's unimpassioned words, "*Securus iudicat orbis terrarum*," by which he set aside the slight element of theology involved in the political and social ebullution of Donatism, were applied in the *Dublin Review* of August 1839 by Wiseman to the Anglican position condemned by isolation. In Newman's conscience the words reverberated long. Not only "by those great words of the ancient Father, the theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverized . . . (but) I had seen the shadow of a hand upon the wall. . . . He who has seen a ghost, cannot be as if he had never seen it. The heavens had opened and closed again. The thought for the moment had been, "The Church of Rome will be found right after all" (*Apologia*, 1864, pp. 212-213).

so that you may have strength to grasp the remission of sins, resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting through the one true and holy Catholic Church" (38^{1076}). Outside the Church, the Donatist can have all but salvation. "He can have rank, he can have the sacraments; he can sing Alleluia, and answer Amen; he can hold and preach the faith in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; but salvation nowhere shall he be able to find save in the Catholic Church" (43^{695}).

Such is the covenanted scheme. But God, absolute master of His graces, works miracles of mercy where and as He wills. Beyond the visible Church, without her sacraments, without her priests, the Omnipotent Lord of sanctification can act directly and where He chooses. Only, woe to those who know and slight the covenant!

"We know that invisible sanctification has been present and profitable unto some without the visible sacraments; but not for that may the visible sacrament be scorned: for the scorner of the visible can never in any wise invisibly be sanctified" (34^{713}).

And, by virtue of the marriage bond between Christ and Christian, in both sacrament and priest "Christ heals, Christ purifies, Christ justifies" (38^{1324}).

Yet between priest and layman, ordination cleaves as utter a division as by baptism exists between Christian and heathen. No sin can efface the awful stamp and sacrament which has ordained a man to be a priest for ever. Augustine mentions all the degrees of orders, and at the head is set the Roman Pontiff, no mere symbol of the unity of the Church, but as a chief represents and as a monarch rules his people.

"What holds me in the Church," he wrote, "is the succession of priests from the very See of Peter the Apostle, to whom the Lord commended the feeding of His sheep, . . . unto the present Bishop" (42^{175}). "It is in the Roman Church that the principate of the Apostolic chair has ever thriven" (33^{163}); and in Peter, to whom Cyprian, in martyrdom, was equal, "the primacy, however, of the Apostles stands forth pre-eminent by a favour so transcendent . . . . for who is ignorant that that principate of the Apostleship must be preferred to any bishopric whatsoever?" (43^{127}).

This Church, building herself up, through sin and grace, to glory, is even now doctrinally infallible (36^{122}, etc.): she speaks authoritatively in her councils (43^{114}, etc.), and, with complete finality, through the Pope. Augustine's actions, and constant recourse to the Apostolic See for counsel, corroboration, ratification, especially in the Pelagian controversy, are even more cogent than his words. Still, we may add the often misquoted but invaluable sentence:

"Concerning this cause two embassies were sent to the Apostolic See. Thence too came rescripts. The cause is finished. Would that the error might some day too be finished" (38^{734}).[1]

(*b*) Augustine was, perhaps, the first to disengage the notions constituent of the whole idea of *sacrament*, so minutely circumscribed by the twelfth century, though his use of the *word* is still wide (it includes, *e.g.* the Lord's Prayer). Besides being *signs*, and *links*, and *rites* of religion, they have, as the Donatist schism caused him to elaborate, intrinsic efficacy; they confer the grace which the signs of the Old Testament prophesied ($42^{355\text{-}356}$); Christ's working in them is not nullified by the imperfection of ministers: always the Church, the mystic dove, baptizes, even when the heretic "hawk" administers the sacrament (43^{149}). If a heretic's baptism confers no grace, that is because of the bad will of the baptized. Let him repent: the obstacle is gone, and grace is given (42^{119}).[2]

[1] Nothing can be stranger than the complete *volte face* of non-Catholic criticism within less than the last half century, as to the bearing of Augustine's theory on this point. The Confession of Augsburg, Melanchthon, and in a less measure Luther, and, till relatively recently, most historians of the Reformation claimed Augustine as the prophet of its doctrines. To-day, Reuter (*Augustinische Studien*, p. 697) writes: "In my view, Augustine is the founder of Roman Catholicism in the West . . . . Neander, Julius Köstlin, Dorner, Schmidt, etc., have recognised this long ago."

[2] As for the *character* stamped by Baptism and Ordination on the soul, Reuter declares Augustine to be responsible for that term: while, in the ninth and tenth centuries, it was on Augustine that the Catholic theologians relied to prove the indelibility of the sacerdotal "character" and the validity of ordinations by heretical bishops.

It is true that the fluid terminology of his day, not yet Aristotelianized, accounts for a few inaccuracies discoverable among Augustine's references to the Eucharist. Still, the incidentally ambiguous must be explained by the mass of what is certain. Loofs, who is for denying that Augustine taught the Christ's Eucharistic Presence save in a figurative sense, owns that in his time the Church at large, and in Africa pre-eminently, was all for the "realists," while Augustine contains no hint of disagreement with his predecessors or contemporaries, and they on their side evidently had no suspicion that the Bishop of Hippo's doctrine was not theirs. Ambrose, again, had taught a Real Presence (16^{405}) in unequivocal terms, which Augustine, who owned in all things to Ambrose as his father in the faith, not only never impugned, but actually copied, when (explaining (37^{1264}) the words of the psalm—"and adore the footstool of His feet") he asks how God's footstool, the earth, can be adored without impiety.

"In my hesitation I turn to Christ, and find how earth may be adored without impiety. . . . His flesh is earth, and of the flesh of Mary He received flesh; and because in that self-same flesh He walked here, and that self-same flesh gave to us to eat for our salvation,—now that flesh no one eateth unless he have first adored,—thus it hath been found how such a Footstool should be adored, and that not only we sin not by adoring, but that by not adoring we should sin."[1] And again (36^{306}) he asks how the seemingly unintelligible words of Ps. xxxiii. (LXX), "and he was borne in his own hands," could be interpreted. And he understands it of Christ, "for Christ was being carried in His own hands, when, commending His own body itself, He said, 'This is my body,' for in His own hands He was carrying it."[2]

[1] This is modelled on Ambrose (10^{75}). "And so by the Footstool the earth is understood, and by the earth the flesh of Christ, which to-day too in the mysteries we adore, and which the Apostles in the Lord Jesus adored."

[2] The difficulties alleged against our contention are thoroughly treated in Portalié, *art. cit.*, cols. 2422-2426. We acknowledge that Augustine, whom we do not claim as having here advanced in any notable way a doctrine already sufficiently clear and understood in his day, frequently and sometimes confusingly laid the mystic doctrine of our unity in Christ and the Church beside the primary dogma.

On the Sacrament of Penance, dealing directly as it did with the practical needs of the Western conscience, Augustine's doctrine is unmistakable. Helped by his clear-cut distinction between hell-meriting mortal sins and the venial offences which coexist with grace,[1] he elaborated his doctrine of the Triple Penance—*Baptismal*, which blots out all sin equally; *Daily*, by which through prayer, alms, fasting, etc., the venial offences of life are effaced; *Great*, to be obtained, for greater faults, from the Keys of the Church ($39^{1535-60}$, 40^{636}, etc.). No false rigorism survives: *all* sins can be forgiven (40^{242}, 35^{2100}), but recourse to these Keys is the only and necessary and certain way to win forgiveness.[2] All mortal sins, but not venial, were to be submitted to the Keys; "Confessions of devotion" seemingly had no existence: and anyhow it seems fairly certain that only for graver sins and public scandals was public penance imposed. Confession itself was apparently secret (38^{511}), and probably only to the bishop or his delegate. So distinct is the grace of penance from that of baptism, and so emphasized the priest's rôle as *judge*, that Harnack (*Lehrbuch*, iii. p. 146 n.) can assert that Augustine was the first to give herein an intellectual ground to the sacramental theory of Penance.[3]

[1] He abolished completely the vagueness which had hitherto confused this subject (34^{994}), he lucidly distinguished Christ's counsels from His precepts (32^{855}, 33^{691}, etc.), and this occasioned his remarkably complete elaboration of the dogma of Purgatory. This "gradation of virtues and vice," and its consequences, are by Harnack reckoned as placing Augustine most definitely in the Catholic ranks, and certainly set him in sharp antagonism to the Stoics and Jovinianus's disciples, who asserted the equality of all sins and virtues, and to the many non-Catholic writers—Protestant and Rationalist—who, incredible as it may seem, still follow them.

[2] Fr. H. Casey, S. J. (*Notes on a History of Auricular Confession*, Philadelphia, 1899, pp. 68–78), discusses the really stupefying thesis of Dr. C. Lea (*A History of Aur. Conf., etc., in the Latin Church*, 1896, I. 116–118, Philadelphia), that Augustine denied this sacramental power.

[3] Augustine's development of the doctrine of marriage did much to establish its clearly sacramental character. Note that his use of the

III. PELAGIANISM.—*Grace, Predestination, Freewill.* —The intricacy of these problems may justify the baldness of our account of the doctrine which won Augustine his supreme title, Doctor of Grace.

Morgan (Pelagius), a Scotch or Irish monk, and his lawyer friend Cælestius, taught a doctrine rooted in Stoicism, influenced by Theodore of Mopsuestia, and evolved in opposition to Manicheism. Man is lord of his will; evil is unnecessary. Man of *himself* can fulfil all justice, obey all commands, avoid all sin. To *will* and to *work* (44^{362}) are wholly man's; the mere *power* to do so is from God. "By the freedom of his will," said Julian of Eclanum, "man is emancipate from God," Who, as Neander sees, is thus "shut up in His Eternity," an august spectator of the human drama. Hence, *Naturalism*: what room, indeed, is left for the supernatural? Humanity of itself can achieve an end connatural to it. And again, *Rigorism*: all sins are equalized, all mortal, all excommunicating; while perfection, being possible, is obligatory. Man *can*, therefore *must*. Pelagian "grace" is merely the gift of existence, or the promulgated Law, or *external* helps: or, if internal to the will, at least merited by man's own powers.[1]

From Rome, after its sack (410), the heretics fled to Jerusalem, met Augustine for a moment at Carthage, and received a kindly letter from him. In 411 Carthage, however, could already condemn six of Cælestius's propositions. He appealed to Rome, fled to Ephesus, and was ordained. In 412–415 Augustine fought the heresy, with customary delicacy never actually naming Pelagius. John, Bishop of Jerusalem, was protecting Pelagius, whose ambiguous and indeed hypocritical defence won him acquittal at Diospolis in 415. In 416 Carthage and Mileve reaffirmed the condemnation, and appealed to Innocent I., to whom Augustine also wrote against Diospolis. In 417 three letters from the Pope reassured the African bishops and confirmed the excom-

word "sacrament" does not necessarily imply that the subject under discussion is such in the present technical sense; nor need his not using it imply that it is not. The fact is proclaimed when he asserts (1) that it was instituted as a sign by Christ; and (2) that it confers grace. He began and ended (though once he hesitated (40^{231})) by definitely affirming that marriage was essentially indissoluble; to this, God, who had exalted a natural indissolubility to being the very *substance* (*res*) of the sacrament, could no more grant exceptions (40^{894}, 34^{1249}).

[1] The semi-Pelagianism of the Hadrumetan monks, and still more of Marseilles, combated by Augustine and his disciple Prosper, and extinguished by the second Council of Orange, would have it that man, his own will, can merit, *de condigno* (as we would say), the initial gift of faith; and, again, that of final perseverance. Neither assertion is Catholic.

munication. But Pope Zosimus, who succeeded in that year, elaborately deceived by two "Professions of Faith" from the two heretics, accepted these, accused the Africans of precipitancy and summoned the accusers of Pelagius to Rome. Carthage and Augustine appealed anew; Zosimus replaced affairs *in statu quo*. In 418 a general synod of Carthage (over 214 bishops) put out eight (nine?) canons against Pelagianism. But Zosimus in that year not only saw through Cælestius's trickery, but, in an encyclical subscribed by the bishops of the whole world, confirmed the African councils, condemned Cælestius and Pelagius, and defined the dogma of Original Sin and the universal necessity of grace. We need not trace the death-struggle of the heresy.[1]

Manicheism originated the problem in Augustine's mind: What is evil? How reconcile liberty with Providence? with Christ's doctrine that "without Me ye can do nothing"? with Paul's theory of Predestination and Grace? Already in 393 (40^{71}) Augustine formulates the Catholic doctrine clearly, save that he does not yet see man to be incapable of the *initial* act of supernatural conversion.[2] Yet in 397 his system is complete. His *De diversis quæstionibus ad Simplicianum* of that year is the key to all his doctrine; he constantly refers inquirers to this book; he never advanced beyond it, and treats his solution there given as a revelation (32^{629}, 44^{966}).[3]

Augustine declared God's "most omnipotent power" over the human will (44^{943}, 38^{598}). Grace precedes freewill; *all* actions of supernatural value are its fruits; every virtue, even the naturally good acts of pagans (33^{591}, etc.), flow from God, unique and necessary source of good. Yet the absolutely certain triumph of efficacious grace is but infallible, not irresistible (32^{621}, etc.). In his earlier works he never

[1] Cælestius also taught that Adam's fall hurt no one but himself, nor caused death to all humanity, since Christ died not for all: that children are born to-day in Adam's unfallen state, and, if dead unbaptized, have eternal life.

[2] Hence the "opposition" (by semi-Pelagians already) of his earlier to his later books; hence too many inaccurate formulæ, later to be corrected (*Retr.*, $32^{621\text{-}628}$).

[3] His doctrine of the Church developed separately. Not sacerdotalism inspired his condemnation of mere nature.

asserts the *death* of man's freewill, but only its disease; in his latest he never retracts this doctrine, and to the end proclaims man's liberty (45^{1520}, 44^{968}, etc.). He seeks to conciliate grace and liberty by reaffirming that God infallibly, yet freely, gains His ends, because man's will necessarily decides, even when freely, from *motives*; but God is absolute master of all motives (32^{1307}), and master too of all *first thoughts* (34^{403}), and by presenting what in His foreknowledge He sees will be efficacious, attains His ends.[1] Thus, by a "moral" call, not violence (35^{1609}), He "prepares the will,"[2] (44^{968}), in "marvellous and hidden ways" (*cf.* 45^{1005}) known to the Eternal Presence (38^{598}).

God's help is universally necessary not because we *cannot* will, but because we *will* not will in consequence of our original fall in Adam, whose splendid and supernatural state Augustine exalts against Pelagian naturalism. Pelagianism alone led him to insist on the culpability of man in original sin; the Greek fathers had insisted on the *penalty*. Further, in this penalty concupiscence — man's disorderly affection — is supreme. Augustine often calls it, as he does death and ignorance, *sin*. Still, it is but an effect peculiarly allied to that original sin which in baptism is uprooted, not merely lopped level (44^{502}); concupiscence remains. False, therefore, is it to declare that the sombre Augustinian pessimism regarded this flesh-revolt as sin: it is but a *reatus*, or a sad consequence of the *realitas*, sin (32^{598}). While we are "solid with Adam," God sees concupiscence with disgust: fault once remitted, it is guiltless, though it flows from, and leads to sin (44^{852}).[3]

[1] *How* God foresees the contingent results of all possible graces, was a problem which assumed gigantic proportions in the sixteenth century.

[2] Nor need we see in Augustine's reasonings any adequate solution of *how* God's grace gains its ends without predetermining the will. In fact, O. Rottmanner, O.S.B. (*Augustinismus*, Munich, 1892), argues almost convincingly that Augustine ended in sheer predestinationism.

[3] Yet will we not deny that his reiterated denunciation of concupiscence lends itself to easy misinterpretation. His doctrine of the

Semi-Pelagians taught that God predestined all alike; to all gave equal graces; freewill alone differentiated fates; they thought Augustine held (what Calvin really did) that God predestined some to heaven, some to hell, and neither could resist. Really he formulated the Catholic dogma. God eternally and gratuitously elects some souls to heaven; but genuinely, yet not absolutely, wills the salvation of all, and so to all leaves liberty. Foreseeing all graces and all possible responses, God chose *this* world exactly, electing His own by immutable (44^{940}) eternal decree. And why? Here, with Paul, "O Altitudo!" Mystery! is his final answer (44^{241}, 34^{434}). Again and again he insists that man stays free (32^{599}, 44^{114}, 37^{1614}, 36^{356}). Even to the elect He gives paradise not gratuitously, though gratuitously He gives the graces which He knows the elect will use to gain it.[1]

Upon this mystery of sin and grace—the darkest, it may seem to many, of the Christian scheme—how many have made shipwreck! Calvin outside the Church, and, within, Baius, Jansen, du Verger, and Quesnel; the episode of Port Royal and the Jesuits, the quarrels of Bañez and Molina, have made sad the souls of men. To-day, environment and heredity replace predestinationism; Pelagius finds successors in the prophets of man's perfectibility, and the assailants of the "characteristically Catholic" dogma that he is sinful.[2]

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condemned mass—the human nature incapable, without grace, of seeing God—and even of the fate of children dying unbaptized, too stern (*e.g.*, 38^{1337}), yet far less cruel than supposed—their pains are exceeding gentle (40^{275}), exceeding light (44^{809})—is, in essence, unimpeachable. But, though he asserts the eternal consequences of original sin to be, at least, other than those of personal, yet none would now subject the children to any but the technical "pain of loss." St. Thomas (in 2 Sent., d. 33, q. 2, a. 2) censures any suggestion of a temporary mitigation of the eternal punishments of hell. Indeed, it is in his eschatology that A. has least been followed.

[1] Augustine leaves alone the later question, Does God elect *before* or *after* the considerations of man's merits? Cunningham (pp. 82–86 and reference there) shows how distant is Augustine from the really ghastly doctrines of Calvin upon man's depravity and the fate of infants.

[2] *Cf.* "The Over-Emphasis of Sin," Rev. A. Brown, *Hibbert Journal*, April 1909.

IV. *Doctrine of God and the Trinity.*—Before touching on Augustine's *City of God*, which, in a true sense, sums up and crowns his work, we must outline that doctrine of the Creator and the creature, and of Christ who reconciled the One with the other, which underlies Augustine's religious life and writing, and, owing to them, took on a peculiar colouring.

(*a*) Providentially, he teaches, save in the case of a few souls, utterly depraved, or through passion thinking themselves atheists, the existence of God is so manifest, that though none can know Him as He is, yet none can be ignorant of Him. They find Him by no innate idea, nor by direct intuition, but by the old-fashioned human method of rising from the ordered visible world to the Invisible Orderer; better still, by acknowledging that Humanity cannot force itself to deny Him; best of all, by soaring from the mutable and finite to immutable infinity; recognizing that if human intellect, the crown of creation, can (as it does)[1] acknowledge that there must still be somewhat more perfect than itself, that Something must be God, or lead, at least, to Him. None can forget the sublime passages in the *Confessions*, where the soul mounts across creation, and sea and earth and heavens cry aloud, "It is not we that made us: seek beyond us"; nor (32^{870}) the prayer, of an exaltation almost intolerable, with which the *Soliloquies* open.

The limitations of our knowledge of God are a favourite theme with him—far as he was from all agnosticism. "If thou *understandest*," he cries to theorists, "it is not God!" (38^{963}). And, regretting even the use of the word *substance* in His regard—for *essence*, in view of His ultimate and absolute simplicity, had been truer—he finds in this same simplicity the solution of such problems as flow from His Eternity and Foreknowledge.

[1] This at once throws Augustine's argument *a posteriori*, and differentiates him from St. Anselm.

(*b*) We fear that it is scarcely possible, though for the scope of this paper it may not be necessary, to write at any length of Augustine's doctrine of the Trinity, which, in Schwane's opinion, merits him as high a rank as does his system of grace. From the outset it was, however, clear that Greek speculation having triumphantly vindicated the divinity of Son and Holy Spirit, Augustine would turn to the congenial task of emphasizing the unity of the Three Divine Persons. Fr. Portalié well singles out the following characteristics of the Latin view, and of the progress accomplished under the influence of Augustine:

1. The Greek and Eastern writers had primarily fixed their attention on the Divine Persons, on the Father, the only God (ὁ Θεὸς); on the Son, God of God; on the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and therefore through the Son. On this system all pre-Athanasian creeds were built. Hence the Unity of the Three Persons was reached secondarily, and by reflexion, and by "recapitulating" the Son and Spirit in the Father; and the Greek fathers were exposed to constant taunts of Tritheism. Augustine started at once from the notion *God*, the Divine Essence not conceived as directly signifying the Father, but the one Nature, now revealed as existing (without succession of time or nature, but not without order of origin) as Trine. Hence (carefully guarding against all danger of a *quaternity*—a Divinity pre-existing to the Three Persons, as against the *fusion* of the Persons), Augustine from the outset avoided the peculiar difficulties in which the Greeks were involved, inspired the formulæ of the *Quicumque*, and directed the plan of all theological thought in the West.

2. The Greeks again seemed to reserve exclusively to each of the Three Divine Persons one special function or rôle, assigning in particular the Old Testament Theophanies to the Son: only by reflexion did they affirm the unity of activity in God. Augustine's insistence on the activity of the *whole* Trinity in all the Divine operations equally, avoided a multitude of misapprehensions, and prepositional formulæ difficult to translate.

3. Finally, his subtle analysis of psychological phenomena,[1]

[1] Augustine's psychology pervades his general work and is inseparable from it. Still, in his explicit discussion of its problems, he is happier than in his *Angelology*, in which sister branch of his spiritual philosophy he said little new and much that has been at once abandoned. Relying overmuch on Platonic proofs for the soul's spirituality

his recognition of the traces of the Trinity in all creation, but especially in the human soul, laid the foundation of that superb description of the Generation of the Son and the Procession of the Spirit, in terms of intellect and love, which, carried on by Anselm, reached perfection in St. Thomas Aquinas."[1]

V. *Christology.*—The band which bound Augustine to Christ had shown itself, as Harnack finely says, like a crimson thread unbroken even through the years when he wandered far from Him; and though we would not, with the same author, suggest that first since Paul and Ignatius, Augustine reintroduced this "contemplation of Christ" as sovereign explanation of life, yet assuredly, at the centre of Augustine's theology and piety and view of human history, even as at the beginning and end of his own life, is the Incarnate Word. "The fact, which is now called the Christian Religion," he boldly says, with the earlier Apologists, "existed among the ancients, and was never lacking from the origin of the human race (32[603]; *cf.* 41[609], 40[787]).

The totality of the dogma of Christ's person is set forth as fully, though perhaps not as luminously, as by St. Cyril, nor need we pause on this. The practical work of Christ was what Augustine naturally turned to, and where he has been most misunderstood.

Abelard thought Augustine preached a Christ merely *morally* one—a pure man united by grace to the Divinity, who redeemed mankind, accordingly, by influence and example only.

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and simplicity, he yet sees that it is not in the body as in tomb or prison, but with it forms *one man* though not one "*stuff.*" To the end he doubted of its origin. Certain that it neither emanated from the Godhead (44[497]) nor evolved from material germ or animal soul (34[372]), nor had lived a pre-corporal sinful life to be punished here (33[717], etc.), he held four opinions tolerable yet difficult. Are souls handed on to us from our parents' souls? If so, how save personality? Or separately created? How then account for original sin? And if created, when? If from the beginning, what of that long idle pre-existence? If, when the body was ready to receive them, how save God's seventh-day rest? To the end he hesitated; and Christ's soul and Adam's had for him special difficulties.

[1] *Summa Theol.*, I., q. xxvii, *a.* 2, 3. We acknowledge that to some (*cf.* Fr. de Régnon, *La Ste Trinité*, i., 341–364, 1892) the Greek method seems preferable. *See* Lect. xxii., p. 12. *Cf.*, however, Duchesne, *Eglises séparées*, 1905, pp. 83–87.

Calvinists and Lutherans, as long as they believed in the divinity of the Saviour, read in Augustine, like the Catholics, the true doctrine of salvation—the expiation of sin by a substituted victim. Now that the Divinity is denied, his modern critics seek to read out of Augustine all hint of expiation; redemption, if mentioned, means ransom paid to devil; Christ died *for* us, if you will, in virtue of human solidarity, but not *instead* of us. Harnack, recognising the true dogma in Augustine, nullifies it, by teaching that the ransom paid to Satan is more important in him than the reconciliation with God; negative forgiveness than positive justification; the supreme lesson of humility than all other elements.

On the contrary, Augustine's "redemption" is a vicarious and expiatory sacrifice offered by Christ to His Father (38^{824}); throughout he presupposes that sin is a real outrage upon God; for it satisfaction is due: this satisfaction was vicariously assumed by Christ. "Our punishment Christ took upon Himself guiltless, that our guilt thereby He might annul, and our punishment have an end" (42^{297}). "The carnal man . . . ." he cries (35^{1881}), "perceives not . . . . what riches of grace Christ's cross confers upon believers; he thinks that this was accomplished on the cross merely to give us . . . . an example to imitate." To the invincible doctrine of Scripture Augustine appeals; and what Tertullian and Cyprian had formulated long before Augustine's minute investigation, should not have been attributed by Cremer, Ritschl, and Protestant commentators after them to Anselm.[1] Christ's redeeming act is His death on the cross; a true sacrifice (42^{899}), unique and prefigured (36^{955}), perpetuated on the altar (41^{198}). But though this death was decreed by God, there is no trace of the Calvinist "despair of Jesus," or of the Protestant deduction that God's curse was on Him, a notion responsible (Gretillat, *Dogmatique*, iv. 298) for much of the unpopularity of the doctrine of expiation.

Hereby all sins are expiated, even post-baptismal;

[1] Loofs (*Leitfaden*, ed. iii., p. 273) and Harnack, who studies Anselm's doctrine of satisfaction in *Lehrbuch*, iii. pp. 341-357, at least do justice to Augustine here.

all captives ransomed, even children dead unbaptized (44^{732}); *because* Christ died for all, with no exception whatsoever, all had been dead in sin with no exception whatsoever (41^{665}).

"The blood of thy Lord, if *thou wilt*, was given for thee; if thou shalt have refused, it was not given for thee" (39^{1515}). "The apostolic and true doctrine is that Christ is Saviour of all men" (38^{1322}).

Gregory of Nazianzos (P.G. 36^{664}) had already rebuked the Oriental gnosticism which suggested that Christ's blood was the price paid not to God, but to the devil. In two highly rhetorical passages, describing the devil's defeat by the Cross, Augustine's words make a *prima facie* difficulty. But nowhere does he hint that Christ treated with or paid His Blood to the devil, or mediated between man and devil. Our deliverance from the devil is *merely the consequence* of our reconciliation with God. He is but God's executioner; by slaying the innocent upon the cross, he defeated himself (42^{1020}): and, in fine, Augustine often says that Christ "ransomed" us from sin, and hell, and death.[1]

[1] In all this section we have done little more than follow Portalié, colls. 2366–2372. Augustine died a year before the Council of Ephesus, but the corollary of his Christology anticipated the proclamation of Mary's supreme title, *Mother of God*, and he is as clear as Cyril. "The humility," he cries, "whereby God was born of a woman . . . . is the supreme medicine for our pride" (42^{952}). Into the rôle of redemption Mary is caught up by Christ, and with Him inseparably connected. He insists on the great mystery . . . . that not only are both natures, male and female, freed, but that as *through* both, both fell, so *through* both is freedom won (40^{303}). As Mary's destiny was unique, so too were her prerogatives. Pelagius had rehearsed the long roll of patriarchs and holy prophets whom he held to have been sinless, and among them he placed Mary, "to confess whom sinless our piety exacts." "Ah," cries Augustine, "with the exception of the holy Virgin Mary, of whom, when we are dealing with sins, for the honour of the Lord I absolutely refuse that any question be raised, not one of them, had we asked them, but would have owned his sinfulness" (44^{267}). And when Julian strove to refute Augustine's doctrine of original sin by asserting that thereby he made over to the devil, by law of birth, even the Virgin Mother, the aged saint indignantly denied: "No, we make not over Mary to the devil by law of birth; and why? because that very law was annulled by a grace of second birth" (45^{1418}). Is this a declaration of the Immaculate Conception? The Protestant scholar Schaff would have it so; the Benedictine Rottmanner disagrees; Harnack thinks that this passage by itself is inconclusive. Yet, if we admit any sense other than that in her very conception Mary was excepted from the law of sin, the argument against Julian seems to fail, and Augustine reduces her in conception if not in life to the level of those Christians who,

Augustine's doctrine reaches its sublime synthesis in the *City of God*, a work inspired by the fall of Rome in 410.

In that year the anæmic youth Honorius, Emperor of the West, had watched, from the melancholy fens around Ravenna, the raid of Alaric towards Rome, and had turned back, indolent, to feed his poultry. The incredible happened. The aboriginal dogma, the rock of the old world's creed—"Rome Eternal"—crumbled. The prophecies and the visions of the poets, and, more potent still, the undefinable mystery, the Fortuna Urbis, dominating popular imagination and educated intellect, had proved to be illusions; a phantom had been worshipped as the Mother-Empress of the world. Sternly repressed since Theodosius, the pagan worship, imperial in the city, a strange chaos still of prehistoric nature-cults and antique superstitions in the lonely hills and moors, sprang into passionate outcry: The Christians had done this! Christ came, and has ruined all things. While we sacrificed, Rome stood, Rome prospered: Now she is nothing! Crowds of emigrants—humble folks, clinging with anguish to the old departing worships; high lords, with the greatest names of the greatest of all histories, tenacious of each tradition of their aristocracy—poured into Africa and inspired a terrible reaction against Christ. It was the death-struggle of the old civilization, savagely butchered before it had time to die of inanition. Even the Christians were scandalized.

Augustine, implored, from all parts of the empire, to give some explanation of the break-up of the old world in spite of the coming of Christ, rose in a moment to the vision of the supreme City, the better Rome, the holiest Jerusalem, which is the Catholic Church, over against which is set the earthly city of the devil, the empire of the enemies of God.

With infinite labour, during the years 413–426, Augustine compiled his colossal work. In the first, the apologetic part (bks. 1–10), he explains, in the historical method proper to his age, that not Polytheism made or kept Rome great, and not Philosophy could assure a future happiness. Books 11 to 22 expose God's providential plan: Christianity is the key; through all ages the cities of God and Earth have

though regenerate, certainly were once, as he would grant to Julian, "made over to the devil." The austere Latin of his sermons, fervent in her praise as they are, does not, however, flame into the ecstatic panegyrics of his Greek contemporaries and predecessors.

moved side by side, each to its destiny. Digressions, philosophical and historical, including the first Theory of Empire, mark scenes in the stupendous pageant: one divine light illumines and explains the history of humanity. This book, in a true sense, marks "the beginning of what St. Augustine for the first time called by the name which has ever since adhered to it, of the Middle Age."[1] And, what even Augustine scarcely, it may be, dreamed, the heart of the Divine City, still incarnate, the greatest of "sacraments," beats in the old imperial Rome which seemed for ever ruined.

"We may turn," concludes Mr. Cunningham (*op. cit.*, p. 115), "from the grandest modern account of the evolution of human progress—turn from Hegel himself—to St. Austin, and feel that the historical system of the ancient father is more perfect and complete; inasmuch as he had a clearer conception of the beginning, and a more definite perception of the final end towards which the whole creation moves."

On 18th August 430, just before the Vandals took Hippo, with the Penitential Psalms, written large, hanging by his bed, Augustine died, according to his prayer. The barbarians broke up the world in which he had lived, but the Christian life flowed on, and of it Europe lived, "just as she was about to be gathered in silence to Assyria and Babylon."[2]

Augustine, therefore, shifts the theological centre of gravity from East to West. Handing on what religious heritage the East bequeathed, rescuing the riches of old and newer Greece, he Romanized the double treasure; he translated speculation into life and thereby set the current of genuine Catholic mysticism; he infused Christian activity with thought, and thus inspired a true scholasticism. Indeed, it is the power of his own *life*, where to know was to love, where search for truth was passionate, that alone explains his unequalled influx into the life of Christianity. Even Aquinas, six centuries after him, will only share, not replace, his influence.

[1] Mackail, *op. cit.*, p. 277. [2] G. K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy*.

GREGORY VII

(1073–1085)

By Adrian Fortescue

In the long line of Popes that stretches back for nearly nineteen centuries there are very few who fill so important a place as Gregory VII. He stands out from that line as the reformer of the Church after the period of her worst degradation, the embodiment of the mediæval ideal, the most uncompromising assertor of Papal sovereignty over the whole Catholic world. The reform of the eleventh century brought the Church into the smooth waters of the later Middle Ages; from then till the first beginning of the Reformation Western Europe was one Christian commonwealth, joined by its common faith, in spite of different secular governments. Over that commonwealth the Roman Pope reigned as the arbitrator of kings, last court of appeal for their subjects, bond of union between the nations. The growth of this ideal was as inevitable as its later disappearance; no one man was so much its creator as Gregory VII. Naturally for a long time Protestants, who stand by the rejection of a united Christendom under the Pope, detested the most Papal of all Popes. Hildebrand was to them the type of Papal aggression, Canossa the symbol of all they most abhorred. A more philosophic study of the development of history has made people better able to understand other ideals. Now, historians who reject all Papal claims, spiritual as well as temporal (Gfrörer, Gregorovius, Martens), can nevertheless do justice to a great Pope. Only the

most bigoted will deny Hildebrand's position as the unswerving champion of a great idea, as one of the very greatest of the mighty men who built up the middle world that separates us from the old Roman Empire.

I. The Political World in Hildebrand's Time

There had been an older ideal, given up unwillingly, that of the Roman commonwealth. It had seemed as if all Europe was to find peace under the rule of the Roman Emperor. The Empire had become Christian, the defender of the Christian faith; the earlier Fathers had conceived the Church as reigning in peace, protected by the *pax romana*. Optatus of Mileve in the fourth century expressed that ideal in a famous passage.[1] St. Ambrose clung to it in spite of the advance of barbarians and the defeat of the legions. Then everyone saw that it was not to be so. The Empire went on in name, but it became only one state among many. Still, the people of Christ, united in faith, could not be scattered among hostile nations as had been their fathers who served hostile gods. So the Church was to do what the Empire had not done. There was no other bond between these barbarous tribes. Lombards, Franks, Goths, Englishmen. They had their own kings, but over these kings reigned a greater kingdom, that of God on earth; each king was bound to his fellows in the *respublica christiana*.

But this ideal was to be no more realized than the older one. Already Eastern Europe had fallen away. The old Empire went on there, but with the West it had no more concern. The division of Europe into East and West had been finally established when Leo III. crowned Charles the Great Emperor (800).

[1] iii. 3, "ecclesia in republica, id est in imperio romano," etc.

Though neither Leo nor Charles meant it, this established two rival empires in East and West that were never again united. The Great Schism (Photius, 867; Michael Cerularius, 1054) further cut Christendom into rival halves. The East, gravitating still around Constantinople, went its own way till the Turk came and swept it all away (1453). From it the West was cut off; reunion councils came to nothing and crusades increased the mutual enmity. The world of Hildebrand was Western Europe, Catholic and Latin.

In this world the Empire of the Western line begun by Charles the Great was still the chief power. Charles's descendants came to an end with Lewis the Child (899–911) and Conrad I. (911–918); the Empire then passed to the great Saxons, Henry I., the three Ottos, and Henry II. (919–1024); after them came the Frankish line (1024–1125) from Conrad II. (1024–1039). This Empire still had the pretence of inheriting the place of the Empire of Augustus; the Emperor still claimed to be the overlord of Christendom. But that claim, never really legitimate (since the old line went on at Constantinople), became more and more of a shadow. In 987 Hugh Capet set up what became the independent kingdom of France. England had never obeyed the Emperor since the English invaded Britain. The Normans, as a last wave of the great barbarian invasion, established an independent state in Southern Italy. All that was really left of the Empire was Germany, Burgundy, and Italy down to the land where the Normans disputed the authority of the Eastern Emperor. No one thought of what seems obvious to us — the separation of Church and State, each having its own rights in a different order. We see all through the great quarrel of Investiture that Christendom was still considered one body knowing no such distinction. The question was, who was to be the head of that body? The Emperor, remembering Constantine,

whom he claimed to succeed, strove to assert for himself the old rights of the Roman Cæsar. Against him the Pope, as head of the Church, asserted the supremacy of his see over kingdoms independent of the Empire. It was the beginning of the great quarrel between Ghibelline and Guelph: on the one hand, the ideal of a politically united Europe under the successor of Augustus; on the other, that of separate states, joined only by the organization of the Church, under the supreme authority of the Pope. The real issue was: who is to be head of Christendom, the Emperor or the Pope? Not till centuries later did the long dispute end in the extinction of the Imperial idea altogether and the relegation of the Church's authority to questions of religion.

For a time, at least in Italy and Germany, the Emperor had won a position as practical overlord of the Church. There was a great revival of his power under Otto I. (962–972) and his successors. Henry III. (1039–1056) especially brought this mediæval Western Empire to the height of its power. He confirmed his suzerainty over Burgundy and made Hungary a vassal state. Twice he marched into Italy to set things right and assert his claim there. The hideous corruption of the Holy See at that time cried out for someone strong enough to reform it. In 1046, at the Synod of Sutri, the Emperor deposed three simoniacally elected Popes, Gregory VI., Benedict IX., Sylvester III., and set up Clement II. (1046–1047). This was the beginning of a line of German Popes who began the reform completed by Gregory VII. Already Hildebrand was the soul of the reforming movement; but it was carried on at first almost entirely by the authority of the Emperor One understands then that in the dispute between the next Emperor, Henry IV. (Henry III.'s son), and the Holy See, Henry conceived himself as standing out for rights inherited from his father.

II. The State of the Church

A great reform is demanded by great corruption. Never perhaps in its long history has the Church sunk so low as it did in the tenth century. The last really great Pope had been Nicholas I. (858–867); then after a few more reigns the Papacy became the plaything of Italian political parties. In spite of one or two good Popes every kind of corruption, simony, incontinence, violence and murder reigned at Rome.

Formosus (891–896) barely escaped with his life; his body was put to hideous outrages by his successor Stephen VII. (896–897). Stephen was murdered; Leo V. (903) imprisoned. Then the Tuscan party, headed by Theodora, wife of Adalbert, Count of Tuscany, took possession of Rome. She and her two daughters, Marozia and young Theodora, made, deposed, and murdered Popes as they liked. John X. (914–928) was murdered by her command. A line of short reigns follows, each of them bringing further disgrace to the Holy See. Gregory V. (996–999) and Sylvester II. (999–1003) for a time relieve the corruption, and begin the first steps towards the reform that was to come. But then everything falls back into as bad a state as before. Benedict IX. (1033–1034), a boy twelve years old, is made Pope by his father, the Count of Tuscany, and spends the property of the Holy See in debauchery: from his time the Papacy is bought and sold like a piece of merchandise. It was time that someone should come to drive out these abject Italians and restore the honour of the first see. The Emperor Henry III. did so; his German Popes begin a better state of things. Only his reform involved further dependence of the Papacy on secular power. No real good could come till the Pope was free of outside authority.

As was the head so were the members. While Popes were fighting their rivals, squandering their lives and property on evil living, getting murdered; with no authority to set things right, with this example in the highest place, Western Christendom sank into an appalling state of corruption. The greatest evils were the slavery of the Church under secular princes, shameless simony, and universal incontinence. These were the abuses that Gregory VII. fought all his life.

The root of them, the crying evil of all, was the dependence of the Church on lay authority.

That state of things had grown up almost unobserved in both East and West. In the East the Emperor from a protector had become a master. He was so throughout the Middle Ages. The whole Byzantine Church took its orders from Cæsar, became Monophysite, Monothelete, Iconoclast as he did. In the West our fathers never sank as low as that. Till the Reformation we do not find secular princes ever dictating articles of faith; but canonical matters, the appointment of bishops, abbots, parish priests, had, before Gregory VII., become the perquisite of kings and dukes and barons. The confusion of Church and State as one body, and the growth of the feudal system, had brought this about. Bishops and abbots were temporal princes too. The Church had inherited riches and lands, over which her authorities ruled just as did lay barons. They attended parliaments and royal councils side by side with mailed warriors. And they held their lands in fief of the crown like the rest of the nobility. Vassals of the king, they too had to furnish their contingent of fighting men when he went a-fighting. If the State so far admitted a difference that the bishop was allowed to send a substitute for himself in battle,[1] none the less was the bishop looked upon as a retainer of the crown, a baron among other barons. The secular side of a bishop's position, indeed, predominated. What he forgot was not his duty to his king, but his place as spiritual father of the diocese. In spite of their personal exemption, bishops were seen constantly in the field, armed like anyone else, riding to battle with their men. So the usual treatment of the State towards its dependents was applied to churchmen too. The king made barons, counts, dukes by certain obvious symbolic rites; he gave them a sword with its belt, cut their pennon into a banner, and so on. And he made bishops and abbots by handing to them the symbols of their authority, the ring and crozier.

This is the famous Lay Investiture that Gregory VII. spent his life to put down. It was part of the whole feudal idea. By such symbols the king gave authority dependent on himself. Everyone understood their meaning. He made a man a baron—and he made a man a bishop too. No one distinguished between the bishop's position as landowner, temporal prince

[1] The French title *vidame* originally meant the bishop's lieutenant who fought at the head of the bishop's men.

on the one hand, and his sacred office on the other. What the king gave was the *donum episcopatus* (the expression recurs constantly); afterwards, as a necessary consequence, the man whom the king had made bishop must, of course, be ordained. Lay investiture, then, that pervaded the whole Church (as the king made bishops, so had emperors made popes and barons parish priests), meant complete subservience of the Church to lay governments.

The other evils followed it. Men bought their places from the king in Church as in the State. Kings put bishoprics up to auction. As soon as a place was vacant, candidates outbid each other to buy it. This evil, too, spread from Rome, where the Papacy was openly trafficked, throughout the Church. Nor was a life of renunciation to be expected from bishops and priests who bought their places for the sake of the income attached, who were merely secular officers of the State, who spent their lives intriguing and fighting. The law of clerical celibacy, long the rule in the Western Church,[1] was openly defied everywhere. Bishops and priests in the ninth and tenth centuries lived with their wives without disguise. Many priests even practised polygamy. A further result of this was that many high ecclesiastical offices became practically hereditary. It is the tendency one sees in Eastern Christendom continually. Lastly, one sees at this time the most hideous anarchy and violence in the Church as in the State. Ecclesiastical persons had become so much like their secular neighbours that no one thought of treating them differently. And the treatment of soldiers, barons, and counts in the tenth century meant a life of continual fighting, a never-ceasing alertness to surprise

[1] Pope Siricius (384–399) laid down this law (Ep. I., c. 7, in the C.I.C., d. lxxxii.); Innocent I. (401–417) repeated it (d. xxxi.), and numbers of councils (*e.g.* the second of Carthage in 390, the fifth of Carthage in 401) had again insisted on it.

and kill your enemy before he could kill you, a short life, pleasant with the excitement of ravaging other people's lands, circumventing traps, vengeance and rape—then a sudden thrust at an uncautious moment, and death. There was blood everywhere, on the steps of the altar as in the halls of castles. Bishops were stopped and killed on the high-road, or stabbed as they said Mass. It was what they had to expect if they missed their chance of killing their murderer first.

St. Peter Damian († 1072) wrote a work describing the state of things in his own time; he calls it the Book of Gomorrha (*Liber Gomorrhianus*). In this he paints an appalling picture of every kind of vice, corruption, and brutal violence. "The whole world," he says, "is nothing but a pool of crime and obscenity." People thought then that the end of all things would come in the year 1000. That idea, while it frightened them, helped the general loosening of all bonds of authority and care for decent order. And the state of things they saw, like that foretold in St. Matthew xxiv., when nation shall rise against nation, there shall be wars and rumours of wars and wickedness shall abound, confirmed their fear.

We look back now after many centuries and see that Christ has brought his Church through these and other horrors; and the end is not yet. But in that long life of nineteen hundred years there has been no period when the wickedness of the world pressed the Church so hardly, when the storm seemed more likely to wreck her altogether, while her Master slept, than in the century before St. Gregory VII.

III. The Beginning of Reform—Cluny

A better state of things had begun before Gregory VII.'s reign. The German Popes set up by Henry III. set about reforming the conditions at Rome itself. It was not till Rome had purified her own state that she could go forth to set the rest of Christendom in order. "If Rome does not come back to a better

way," says Peter Damian, "the world will remain plunged in error. The reform must start from Rome as from the corner-stone of salvation."[1] On the other hand, some influence was wanted that should mould good Popes. When everything was bad and corrupt, whence could a new Pope come, who should establish a sterner discipline? So we see the beginning of better things first in one or two scattered schools of men who flee the universal corruption to serve God away from the world. From these, then, come the great Popes who bring the whole Church up to the ideal they had learned in their solitude. Such hermitages, where some men find a refuge from a bad age, are always the result of times of great worldliness. The greater the corruption the more austere is the reaction among the few who flee it. So in Italy there were such refuges, in which hermits kept themselves unspotted by the world and prayed for better days. St. Romuald of Ravenna, after his conversion, wandered through Europe, preaching asceticism: in 1012 he founded the great Camaldolese monastery near Florence. John Gualbert built a hermitage at Vallombrosa, near Florence, in 1039. While Pope John XVIII. (1003–1009) was degrading the Papacy, St. Nilos of Rossano was founding strict monasteries in Calabria. St. Peter Damian († 1072) represents the movement for reform among the secular clergy. In England the Primate St. Dunstan († 988) put down incontinence and simony; in the Empire St. Ulrich of Augsburg († 973), St. Bruno († 994), and St. Willigis († 1011) stood for the same cause. But the chief element working for better things was without question Cluny and the Cluniac reform. It was in the Benedictine abbey of Cluny that the movement began. Cluny educated the new generation; Cluny brought up the men who became reforming Popes. Duke William of Aquitaine founded

[1] Ep. ii. 29.

the monastery near Macon, in Burgundy, in 910; Berno, a Burgundian, was its first abbot. The abbey was from the beginning exempt from all secular and episcopal jurisdiction, directly subject to the Holy See.[1] Berno died in 927; the next abbot was Odo. Cluny, then, from the beginning set an example of stern discipline. The rule of St. Benedict was kept exactly in every detail: the monks of Cluny grew up to be really what their founder had meant. And the world was not so bad as to be unable to appreciate their lives. So we see the influence of Cluny growing in each generation. A number of daughter-monasteries were founded in Burgundy and France. Many more houses, without putting themselves under obedience to Cluny, began to copy its example. One by one, Fleury on the Loire and Ste. Benigne at Dijon, Subiaco, and Monte Cassino, eventually an enormous number of Benedictine houses all over Europe came under the influence of the Cluniac reform. The most famous Abbot of Cluny was Odilo (994–1049), friend of emperors, educator of popes and countless bishops. In his time all the Spanish monasteries reformed themselves under his influence. In its first period the Cluniac movement aimed at an ideal of strength by concentration. It was natural that in such an age the purely ascetic ideal should be very strong in the reaction; what the monks feared most was worldliness, infiltration of the spirit of the bad world around them. So at Cluny the world was repressed very sternly. There were no secular books, no classics, no scientific works at all in the library. The monks read nothing, knew nothing but their Bibles, the Fathers, mystic and spiritual works. They were trained to be not scholars nor poets but apostles.

[1] The exemption of monasteries from bishops' authority—a measure whose far-reaching effects pervade Canon Law still—began at about this time. When bishops were so entirely worldly princes, so obviously disposed to squander the property they were bound to protect, such exemption was a wholesome, almost necessary precaution.

Cluny, then, started the reform. And Cluny formed the man who was to be Gregory VII.

IV. Hildebrand's Early Years

Hildebrand was born about the year 1025 at a village called Rovacum, near the town of Saona in Tuscany. His father, Bonicus or Bonizo, was quite a poor man, apparently a goatherd:[1] his mother came from near Rome. Both his own name and his father's suggest Lombard descent. He was, then, a man of the people, with no pretence of higher rank. Abbot Hugo of Cluny describes him as "a little man of contemptible birth, short of stature."[2] It was said afterwards that there had been signs and prophecies of his future greatness. The boy was playing with some carpenter's chips, and formed with them (although he could not yet read) the words: *Dominabor a mari usque ad mare* (Ps. lxxi. 8). His uncle, Abbot of the Cluniac monastery of St. Mary on the Aventine, had foretold of him: This boy will be great before the Lord. As a very young child he came to Rome, probably brought by his uncle, and was educated in the Lateran palace. Afterwards the Pope never forgot that he was brought up at Rome. In his great devotion to St. Peter and the Apostolic See he is fond of alluding to himself as an adopted son of Rome. "The Prince of the apostles nourished me from my infancy and kept me in the lap of his kindness";[3] "Peter, hear me whom thou hast nourished from childhood";[4] "Peter educated me in his house since I was a boy."[5] While Hildebrand was growing

[1] Martens, *Gregor VII.*, i. 9. Others think he was an artisan or carpenter.

[2] Quoted by Martens, *l.c.*

[3] Letter to Wozelin of Magdeburg, Jaffé, *Registrum Greg. VII.*, iii. 39 (p. 58).

[4] The excommunication of Henry IV. *ib.*, iii. 10*a* (p. 223).

[5] To William the Conqueror, *ib.*, vii. 23 (p. 415).

up in the Lateran, the last bad Popes of the Italian factions (Benedict IX., 1033–1048; Silvester III., 1044–1046, antipope) were quarrelling before the Emperor Henry III. came and swept them all away. The last of these was Gregory VI. (John Gratian, 1045–1046), to whom Hildebrand had great affection personally, whose name he afterwards took. Gregory VI. had bought his place simoniacally. He was summoned to the Synod of Sutri in 1046 by the Emperor and took Hildebrand with him. "Unwillingly I crossed the mountains with the Lord Pope Gregory."[1] He was unwilling, it seems, to witness the humiliation of his protector. For at Sutri Gregory VI. had to resign, making the shameful confession: "I Gregory, servant of the servants of God, acknowledge myself unworthy of the Roman pontificate because of the shameful simony and bribery which, by the malice of the devil, corrupted my election to the Holy See."[2] Very likely the sight of this disgrace gave Hildebrand the first impulse to what was to be the work of his life—the cleansing of the Roman Church from such scandals. Gregory VI. was commanded by the Emperor to retire to Köln; Hildebrand accompanied him, and continued his studies on the Rhine. He writes afterwards to an Archbishop of Köln: "Because of the memory of the education we received in the church of Köln in the time of your predecessor, we have a special love for her among all the churches of the West."[3] Thence he went to Aachen,[4] and liked his sojourn in the north so much that when Gregory VI. was dead and Leo IX. brought him back to Rome, he says: "Still more unwillingly did I come back to your special church with my Lord, Pope Leo."[5]

[1] In the synod of 1080, *Registrum*, vii. 14*a* (p. 401).
[2] Bonitho, *ad amicum* (ed. Jaffé, p. 628). [3] *Registrum*, i. 79, p. 99.
[4] Peter Damian, *De castitate*, xlvii. 3. Hildebrand was much edified by the monks of Aachen.
[5] *Reg.*, vii. 14*a* (p. 401).

Soon after he had come back to Rome the Pope ordained him subdeacon, probably about the year 1049, and made him a cardinal.[1] From this time Hildebrand gradually becomes the most influential person at Rome; though he did not himself become Pope till twenty-three years later. It has been very much discussed whether he ever became a Cluniac monk. If he did, it must have been before he was ordained subdeacon. In any case, there is no doubt that he was enormously influenced by Cluny, that he saw in that monastery the hope of the Church, and that he at one time wanted to be a monk. His uncle was abbot of the monastery on the Aventine where the Abbot of Cluny stayed when he came to Rome. During the years he was being educated at the Lateran, through this uncle he would have had constant relations with the monks. He says that he did not desire a career at Rome, but rather to end his life as a monk.[2] Bonitho, his friend and biographer,[3] says in so many words than when Gregory VI. died, "the venerable Hildebrand, going to Cluny, became a monk there and taught philosophy (or learned it?—*phylosophatus est*) among the religious men."[4] Later (according to Bonitho) the Abbot of Cluny (Hugo)

[1] The College of Cardinals was just at this time being regularly organized. Since a much earlier age the Roman suburban bishops, parish priests, and regionary deacons of the city had formed a kind of permanent synod (the *concilium apostolicum*) around the Pope. These persons also normally elected the Pope. It was this right that gave them so great importance. After the illegal interference of emperors, Pope Nicholas II. (1058–1061) made a new decree in 1059 insisting on Papal election by those three classes of persons, who were already called cardinals. Leo IX. writes: *clerici summæ sedis cardinales dicuntur, cardini utique illi quo cetera moventur vicinius adhærentes.* Innocent IV. (1243–1254) gave them red hats. In the thirteenth century they obtained precedence over archbishops—so in both Councils of Lyons, in 1245 and 1274.

[2] Excomm. of Henry IV., *Registrum*, iii., 10*a* (p. 224). This is at least what most people understand by his expression: *potius volui vitam meam in peregrinatione finire.*

[3] See p. 31.

[4] Bonitho, *ad amicum*, v., ed. Jaffé, p. 631.

went to meet Leo IX. at Besançon on his way to Rome, "taking with him the venerable Hildebrand."[1] Hildebrand gave Leo salutary advice,[2] and the Pope, impressed by his virtues and wisdom, "obtained him with difficulty, by many prayers, from the abbot and raised him to the dignity of subdeacon."[3] So Hildebrand would have entered Cluny and been a monk there between the death of Gregory VI. (1048) and his own ordination as subdeacon (1049, or at latest 1050). It will be seen that there was not much time. That he spent some months at Cluny during that time is very likely. No doubt he intended to stay there altogether and end his days, as he says, in the religious life. But it seems more probable that his meeting with Leo IX., his unwilling return to Rome in the company of that Pope, and his ordination, put an end to his intention, so that he never made his vows and was not strictly a monk at all.[4] This does not deny his intimate relations with Cluny all his life, nor that he was one of the many great men at that time who owed everything to the Cluniac movement.

V. Hildebrand as Counsellor of Popes

Six reigns followed during which Hildebrand was the adviser of Popes, the organizer of elections—altogether the chief person at the Roman court. Leo IX. (Bruno of Toul, 1048–1054) was elected by the Parliament (Reichstag) at Worms to succeed Clement II. It was another case of Henry III.'s appointment of a German bishop after the scandals of the Italian

[1] Bonitho, v. p. 631. [2] See below, p. 15. [3] Bonitho, v. p. 633.
[4] This is the view of Wilhelm Martens: *War Gregor VII. Mönch?* 1891, answered by U. Berlière: *Grégoire VII. fut-il moine?* in the *Revue Bénédictine* (Maredsous), 1893, pp. 337–347; defended again by Martens: *Gregor VII. war nicht Mönch*, in the *Histor. Jahrb. der Görresgesellschaft*, 1895, pp. 274–282, and amplified in his *Gregor VII.*, II. Exkurse: "Gregors weltgeistlicher Stand," pp. 251–297, with a bibliography of the question.

factions. But such an election was not canonical. Glad as people were to welcome these upright German Popes, the feeling was growing that dependence of the Holy See on the Imperial government, nomination of Popes by the Emperor would be as dangerous for the Church as the abominations of the bad Italian Popes. Bruno of Toul, on his way to Rome, met Hildebrand, who had learned at Cluny uncompromising principles as to the liberty of the Church. Hildebrand persuaded him that the Emperor had no authority to make Popes. They go to Rome together. Bruno enters the city as simply Bishop of Toul (Feb. 2, 1049) and declares that he awaits a free canonical election; if he is not elected he will go back to his diocese at once. In this definite attitude, ignoring everything that the Imperial government had done, we see at once the mark that henceforth is to stamp the conduct of the Roman Curia—the mark of Hildebrand. Bruno was elected, however, freely and canonically by the Roman clergy, became Leo IX. (1048–1054), one of the great reforming Popes who prepare the way for Gregory VII. He made Hildebrand "administrator of the property of the Roman Church."[1] Not only in economic affairs but in all others as well does the new cardinal subdeacon become the soul of Leo's reforms. In 1049 a Roman synod, summoned by Hildebrand's advice, made stern laws against simony and incontinence in the clergy.[2] Simony involved excommunication against both buyer and seller, and "at Rome bishops and cardinals and abbots who had been ordained by simoniacal heresy were deposed." In 1053 Hildebrand was sent as Legate to France to settle the controversy begun by Berengar.[3]

[1] *Economum sanctæ romanæ ecclesiæ constituit*, Bonitho, *ad amic.*, v. p. 633. [2] *Ib.*

[3] Berengar, Canon of Tours († 1088), was the first heretic who denied the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist. He was condemned by several synods, among others by one at the Lateran in 1079. He retracted eventually.

Before he came back Leo IX. was dead. The Romans wanted to elect Hildebrand as his successor, but he escaped this time and arranged the election of Gebhard of Eichstätt, Victor II. (1054–1057), again an excellent German reforming Pope. Under him Hildebrand's influence continued. He went again as Legate to France, held synods, and put down incontinence and simony. During Victor II.'s reign the Emperor Henry III. died (1056), leaving as his successor a child five years old—Henry IV. (1056–1106). After Victor came Stephen IX. (1057–1058), also a German (Cardinal Frederick, Abbot of Monte Cassino), who carried on the good work. When he died Hildebrand was away in Germany arranging the affairs of the Empire during Henry IV.'s minority. So great was Hildebrand's reputation already that Pope Stephen IX. made the Romans promise not to elect a successor till the Legate should come back. But the Tuscan party tried to revive the old state of things by setting up John, Bishop of Velletri, as antipope with the title of Benedict X. (1058–1059). Hildebrand, hurrying back, arranged a canonical election at Sienna, and by his advice Bishop Gerhard of Florence was chosen and became Nicholas II. (1058–1061). Nicholas II. in a great synod at Rome (Easter 1059) made new and severer laws about Papal elections, in order to prevent political factions from these attempts to capture the Holy See. Here too Hildebrand was at his side arranging everything. The law of Nicholas II. forms an important stage in the development of our present system. It left the power chiefly in the hands of the cardinal-bishops (bishops of the suburban sees); the other cardinals were to be called in to vote after the bishops had chosen a candidate. The rest of the Roman clergy and people had the right of expressing their consent by acclamation, and the election was to take place "with reservation of due honour and reverence towards

King Henry, the future Emperor (he was not yet crowned), and those of his successors who obtained this privilege personally from the Apostolic See"—a purposely vague phrase. Nicholas II. held another synod in 1059 to put down the still rampant abuses of simony and incontinence and made many negotiations with Robert Wiscard and his Normans, who had set up a kingdom in Southern Italy. King Robert sought to legitimize his conquest by holding these lands as a fief of the Holy See. The relations of this Norman kingdom to the Papacy were always a fruitful source of dispute. In 1060 another synod again pronounced severe sentences against the usual abuses. In 1061 the cardinals, carrying out the law of the last Pope, elected Anselm of Baggio, Bishop of Lucca, who became Alexander II. (1061–1073). But the reforms of these Popes had produced a strong party, especially among the Italian factions, who preferred the old state of anarchy and loose living. The malcontents combined to make a schism led by the old Tuscan party. They set up Cadalus, Bishop of Parma, as antipope with the title of Honorius II. (1061–1064). He managed to seize Rome and to maintain himself there by force for three years. But the Empire declared for Alexander. Eventually Honorius disappeared and the rightful Pope was acknowledged by everyone. Alexander, too, continued the work of reform. He came into conflict with the Emperor Henry IV., who wanted to divorce his wife and refused to give up the traffic in Church appointments. Hildebrand was made Papal chancellor, Peter Damian Legate in Germany. These two were Alexander's advisers and guides throughout his reign. In 1073 the Pope excommunicated certain counsellors of the Emperor who were chiefly concerned in his simoniacal proceedings. It was the beginning of the great conflict that was coming. After a difficult and glorious reign Alexander II.

died on April 21, 1073.[1] Then at last Hildebrand was elected to succeed him. He had been proposed and had avoided election at nearly each vacancy during these twenty-three years. This time he could avoid it no longer. No one could doubt that he was the one man fit to succeed in so troublesome times, when the opposition to Papal reforms was gathering to a head and a great struggle with the Empire was at hand. There is no other case of a Pope succeeding to the throne after having been the guiding spirit of the Roman Curia for so many years under different predecessors. Undoubtedly Hildebrand as Pope owed many of the qualities that make his reign famous to that long training. "The school of his authority had been long and arduous," says Gregorovius, "but never did a monarch undertake his office with so deep a knowledge of the conditions of the world, of men and means, or with so clear a consciousness of his aims."[2]

VI. Hildebrand's Election. His Allies and Opponents

Alexander II. was buried in the Lateran Church the day after his death (22nd April 1073). Before the funeral was over everyone in the basilica cried out that Hildebrand must be the new Pope. He had, as usual, begun to arrange an election by which someone else should succeed; but this time the feeling in his favour was too strong. Cardinal Hugo Candidus demanded him of the electors. Bonitho says that the assembly of clerks, men, and women cried out: "Hildebrand for bishop." He was frightened, and quickly went towards the ambo to pacify them. But Hugo took his place there and said: "Men, brethren, you know that from the days of the Lord Pope Leo

[1] Peter Damian died a year before, Feb. 22, 1072.
[2] *Gesch. der Stadt Rom.*, v. ed., iv. 162.

this Hildebrand has lifted up the holy Roman Church and has freed this city. Wherefore, since we cannot find a better nor so good a one to elect to the Roman pontificate, we elect him, a man ordained in our church,[1] known to you and to us and approved in every way." "Then," continues Bonitho, when the cardinals, bishops, priests, deacons, and clerks of the lower orders had cried out, as is the custom, 'St. Peter has chosen Gregory for Pope,' he was at once taken by the people and, unwillingly, was enthroned at the chains of blessed Peter—not at the chains of Brixen."[2] It has been discussed how far this election satisfied the conditions of the law of Nicholas II.; Martens thinks it did not.[3] But the unanimous consent of cardinals and all the clergy is enough for validity. Nor did anyone seriously dispute Hildebrand's right; only long afterwards do his enemies, who accuse him of monstrous and ridiculous crimes of every kind, add to their absurd charges that he bought his election simoniacally—Gregory VII. of all people! He constantly refers to his unwillingness to become Pope. He had shown this often enough in evading election before. It is neither mock modesty nor cowardice. Even so great a man as Hildebrand might well fear the responsibility of the Papal throne, especially at that time. However, once enthroned he accepted his position and began his reign as Pope Gregory VII. It appears that at that time the new name was given to Popes by other people—his electors or a popular acclamation.[4] We have seen in Bonitho's account that he is acclaimed

[1] The feeling that the bishop of each see should be taken from its local clergy was very strong till late in the Middle Ages. One notices in this case too how Cardinal Hugo thinks it important that (although Hildebrand was a foreigner) yet he was ordained at Rome and so belonged to the Roman clergy.

[2] *Ad amicum*, vii. p. 656. The last allusion is meant for the antipope Wibert of Ravenna (below, p. 27), who was enthroned at Brixen.

[3] *Gregor VII.*, i. 49–50.

[4] Martens, *op. cit.*, i. 51–53.

as Gregory. The new Pope sent a notice of his election to the Emperor, who answered: "To the most watchful and eagerly desired Lord Pope Gregory, signed by heaven with the apostolic dignity, Henry, by the grace of God king of the Romans, sends most faithful witness of his dutiful homage."[1] He changed the tone of his correspondence later. Gregory was already deacon: he was ordained priest on 22nd May and bishop on the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. The man who had spent all his life for the cause of reform did not change his attitude when he himself succeeded to the highest place. As everyone must have foreseen, from the first moment of his reign to the end of his life he carried on a relentless war against lay investiture, simony, clerical marriages. In that war his opponents were, naturally, first, all the bad elements guilty of these offences. Lay patrons who degraded bishops and abbots to the level of their retainers, buyers and sellers who made a profitable traffic of benefices, incontinent clerks everywhere had already formed themselves into an organized opposition against the reform movement. Now they prepared to withstand their chief enemy to the end. Then, as head of the opposition, Gregory must have foreseen the Emperor. Henry IV. had already refused to discharge his excommunicate counsellors, had already shown that he meant to stand out for his inherited right of investiture, that he was not prepared to forgo his profit from selling benefices. A conflict between Gregory and Henry was inevitable.

On the other hand, the Pope had powerful allies. Cluny and all the Cluniac monasteries were for him, of course. So were all the better elements whom the beginning of the reform had already introduced at Rome and everywhere. Such people as St. Anselm of Canterbury († 1109) were carrying out Gregory's ideas in each country. The Normans in the South

[1] *Reg.*, i. 29*a*, Jaffé, p. 46.

were occasional allies too, less through love of the reform than through their natural fear of the Empire. The same opposition to Henry IV. and his claim as Emperor gathered to the Pope's side all the local national elements that later became the Guelph party. But his chief ally and most faithful friend was Countess Mathilda of Tuscany. This lady, a Lombard by birth, had married Godfrey, Count of Tuscany. While he was away fighting for the Emperor, Mathilda stayed at home, shared all the Pope's views, worked for his interest, and developed an enthusiastic devotion for him. When her husband died, the revenues, influence, and territory of Tuscany were always at the service of the Holy See.[1]

VII. Laws against Simony, Incontinence, and Lay Investiture

The year after Gregory's accession, in Lent 1074, he held a great synod at Rome in the presence of many bishops and princes. In this synod all the reforming laws of his predecessors were confirmed; even severer penalties were to be inflicted on those who disobeyed. No clerk guilty of simony or incontinence is to serve in the Church in any way. Simoniacal appointments are *ipso facto* invalid; simony entails excommunication (*latæ sententiæ*) on all concerned in it. No married priest may say Mass or administer any Sacrament. No one may hear Mass nor receive Sacraments of such priests under any circumstances. There was a good deal of opposition to these laws among the clergy in Italy, France, and the Empire; absurd calumnies against the tyrannical Pope began already to be spread about. But Gregory's Legates saw to it that his laws were carried out and great numbers of offenders were sus-

[1] A great part of the Papal States were eventually formed from Mathilda's inheritance.

pended and excommunicated. Two more synods (Nov. 1074 and Feb. 1075) insisted again on the same laws. Bishops who disobeyed were deposed without mercy. The synod of 1075 attacked the root of all these evils by forbidding every kind of investiture of ecclesiastical symbols by laymen. This was no new law. Although the custom of lay investiture had grown up as part of the feudal system; although the fact that bishops and abbots held lands which kings considered their fiefs gave investiture a certain reasonableness—already people who had the independence of the Church at heart had protested against the custom for years. Cluny had set its face against it. In the middle of the eleventh century, when Helinard, a Cluniac monk, was made Archbishop of Lyons, he had refused to accept investiture or to take the oath to the king that accompanied the ceremony. And the king had been content with a simple promise of loyalty. There were other cases of the same refusal before Gregory VII. Hincmar of Rheims († 882) had defended Gregory's views as to the independence of the Church; twenty-six local councils in France, Italy, and Germany, between 1059 and 1073, had demanded all Gregory's reforms. Nor was the Pope in any way conscious of introducing novelties. He appeals always to older traditions, to the Council of Chalcedon and early decrees, and he forbids lay investiture on the general principle that the Church must be free of the State in every way. We have said that no one at that time distinguished between a bishop's spiritual authority and his temporal power. The *episcopatus* was one thing, involving rights over territory as well as ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Gregory would not allow this episcopatus to be given by the State. Kings could make barons and knights, but not bishops and abbots. So he forbids any kind of lay investiture; such investiture makes all appointments null and void. And Gregory conceived the

Church as a perfect society, having herself the right to possess, administer, and dispose of her property as she pleased. Here lay governments have nothing to say. Indeed, his ideal went further, and whereas no one then conceived of two authorities mutually independent, whereas kings, especially the Emperor, wanted the State to rule the Church, the Pope claimed for the Church authority over all things, even the State.

VIII. Gregory and Henry IV

The chief event of Gregory's reign was his great fight with Henry IV. The Emperor became inevitably the chief enemy of the Pope's reform. A man of notoriously immoral life, he was not troubled with scruples about clerical continence; he derived a considerable income from selling benefices, and he saw in the law against investitures an attack on his most cherished imperial rights. The conflict had already begun under Alexander II. when Henry refused to dismiss his simoniacal counsellors. In spite of his acknowledgement of Gregory VII. and his protestations of obedience,[1] he knew that the Pope would always be the most uncompromising enemy of his policy; if he once gave in it was only when he was in deadly fear for his throne; he was consistently a liar and a hypocrite throughout his reign. The Pope's allies were the many dissatisfied elements in the Empire, especially the Saxons, all this time in revolt. In 1075 Henry had crushed them, so he can afford to defy the Pope. The Legates who arrive at Goslar in that year to carry out the reforms are mishandled; then Henry stirs up the malcontents at

[1] Nothing could exceed the devotion of Henry's tone at the beginning. See his letter in the *Registrum* i., 29*a* (pp. 46–48). The Pope is his most loving Lord and Father; he confesses his various excesses with almost degrading humility to "your most merciful fatherhood."

Rome under a certain Cencius. Cencius seized the Pope during the midnight Mass in St. Mary Major at Christmas 1075, wounded him, and dragged him off to his castle. But the people rose and set him free.[1] In 1076 Henry summoned a great council of German bishops at Worms. All the simoniacal and incontinent clergy arrive here. Cardinal Hugo Candidus, who had been deposed by Gregory, presents a document containing absurd accusations against him. The bishops proceed to depose the Pope as unlawfully elected, disturber of the peace of the Church, perjurer, and so on. Their decree is sent to their simoniacal brothers in Lombardy, who receive it gladly, and Henry communicates it to Gregory in a letter whose tone forms an interesting contrast to that of his former correspondence. He begins: "Henry, not by usurpation, but the holy will of God, King of the Romans, to Hildebrand, no longer Apostolic but a false monk." He goes on to tell the Pope to renounce the Papacy, and to make room for a more worthy; and ends distinctly vigorously: "I Henry, King by the grace of God, with all our bishops say to thee: Come down, come down, thou damnable one for ever!"[2] Gregory answered in a synod (Lent 1076) of 110 bishops in which he excommunicates the Emperor, deposes him, and absolves all his subjects from their allegiance.[3] Meanwhile Henry was just about to set up Wibert of Ravenna as antipope when he found that the religious feeling among his own subjects was stronger than he was. He was always unpopular among many people besides the Saxons. Now his subjects refuse to have any more of an excommunicate Emperor. In October 1076 the princes meet at Tribur with the

[1] The story of Cencius' revolt is told picturesquely by Gregorovius, iv., pp. 181–183, more soberly by Martens, i. 85.

[2] Martens, i. 94.

[3] The excommunication in the *Registrum*, iii. 10*a* (pp. 223–224).

Papal Legates and agree that Henry shall be judged by the Pope himself in a great council at Augsburg the next year. Meanwhile he is to go to Speyer and live in retirement. All the Empire agreed to this decision. The Canon Law declared that an excommunicate person could not reign; at Tribur the princes acknowledged the Pope's right over the Empire, his power of deposing completely. Henry was left alone. Already people were discussing the possibility of electing a new Emperor, when suddenly he saved himself by a pretended submission. At any cost he must prevent that council at Augsburg. If the Pope came to judge him publicly he was lost. His offences had been too many; he was sure to be deposed. So he hurried off to patch up a reconciliation with Gregory before things went too far.

IX. Canossa and Gregory's Death

The Pope was travelling north, the Emperor south. They met at the Countess Mathilda's castle of Canossa (between Modena and Parma) in January 1077. The meeting is the dramatic moment of the whole story. Henry arrived imploring pardon. For three days he did penance outside the castle walls in the snow, barefoot, in penitential attire, holding a lighted candle. Then the Pope let him in, forgave him, and absolved him from excommunication. Lambert of Herzfeld and other chroniclers say that Gregory said Mass before him. At the Communion he held up the blessed Sacrament, protested his innocence of all the crimes with which he had been charged, and gave himself Communion. Then, turning to Henry, he said: "Receive this portion of the Body of the Lord that, God being witness of thy innocence, the mouths of all who accuse thee may be closed." Henry feared the test, got up and left the chapel.[1]

[1] Martens, i. 127–133, who ridicules the story.

The scene at Canossa has taken hold of popular imagination. Every Protestant writer has dilated on the scene of the Emperor shivering in the snow, the hard-hearted Pope gloating over his triumph within the warm castle. Undoubtedly Canossa is a symbol of the triumph of the Church over the State; "the way to Canossa" has become a proverb, and the fear of German statesmen who fall foul of the Catholic Church down to Bismarck. And yet the incident was really only a clever ruse of the Emperor. He never meant to make peace really. He had to stop the meeting at Augsburg at any price; the humiliation of his penance (no very great one in mediæval eyes) was only an unpleasant detail in his scheme. What he really did was to take advantage of the Pope's position as priest as well as judge. In a public political council Henry would have been deposed. By arriving suddenly as a private penitent he forced the Pope to withdraw the excommunication, which was all he wanted. As Pope, as Head of Christendom, Gregory would have deposed him, but a priest must absolve an apparently repentant sinner. While Henry was in the snow, and all Europe wondered at Gregory's triumph, the real master of the situation was not the Pope whose pity was being abused, but the cynical penitent, laughing in his sleeve, who was so cleverly disarming the princes at home at the price of three cold days.

Henry went back home absolved, reunited his forces, and began again at once his war against Gregory. But his ruse at Canossa did not help him for long. Again the princes met in 1077 at Forchheim, declared him deposed, and elected his brother-in-law, Rudolph of Suabia, Emperor. Gregory for a long time was unwilling to doubt Henry's conversion; but at last, as Henry still continued his offences, he again excommunicated him in 1080,[1] and recognized

[1] *Registrum*, vii. 14*a* (pp. 401–404).

Rudolph as Emperor. Rudolph was defeated and killed in October 1080. The next pretender set up by the princes of the opposition, Hermann of Luxemburg, was not strong enough to resist Henry; so from now till Gregory's death he triumphed, as such persons do triumph, by force, while Gregory had really won his cause for the future ages. Henry set up Wibert of Ravenna as antipope at Brixen. Wibert took the name of Clement III. (1080–1100) and followed his master into Italy. The simoniacal Lombard bishops acknowledged him, and all the old bad elements gathered round the antipope. Gregory made an alliance with Robert Wiscard and the Normans and took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. Henry came to Rome, enthroned Clement in St. Peter's, and was himself crowned Emperor there at Easter 1084.[1] The Countess Mathilda and her Tuscans fought for the real Pope, and the Normans came to his help. Henry had to retire, but the Normans plundered the city. Gregory, fearing to stay in Rome in the disorder, went to the south. He came to Monte Cassino, the great Benedictine monastery, and thence to Salerno. Here he fell sick, renewed the excommunication of Henry and the antipope until they repented, and died on 25th May 1085, with the words that remain always the epitaph of one of the greatest Popes: "I have loved righteousness and hated evil, therefore I die in exile." He is buried in the cathedral of Salerno.

Although he died in exile Gregory VII. had done his work and really won his cause. It is true that the trouble was not yet over. His successors Victor III. (1085–1087), Urban II. (1088–1089), and Pascal II. (1099–1119) had still to wrestle with Henry IV. and his son Henry V. (1106–1125); but there was

[1] The Emperor had to be crowned at Rome. Till then he was only Emperor-elect and King of the Romans. This explains Henry's description of himself as King hitherto.

now a united Church against the Emperor's pretence. Since Gregory VII. no churchman doubted that he must resist investiture. St. Anselm of Canterbury († 1109) and such persons in each country stood out unflinchingly for the liberty of the Church as understood by Gregory. The principle stated again by Pascal II.: "What has a warrior to do with bishops' croziers and rings? Let kings keep what belongs to kings, priests what belongs to priests,"[1] became a recognized axiom; lastly, in the Concordat of Worms (1122), the Empire gave up its claim. The ninth General Council (Lateran I. 1123) confirmed this surrender. From that time lay assumption of spiritual authority has not seriously troubled the Catholic Church. It was not till the Reformation that princes began to assert jurisdiction over the new sects. Simony and incontinence always remain a danger; there were always spasmodic outbursts of either. But here too Gregory VII. had laid down lines from which the Church in general did not waver again. His reign did not end, as it had not begun, the great reform; but as the influence of Hildebrand had prepared it under former Popes, so did the spirit of Gregory VII. complete it under his successors.

X. Gregory VII.'s Ideal

The question of investitures was only one incident in Gregory's scheme of restoration. The Church must be free and pure. For that he fought all his life. And then, after the degradation of the past, seeing the anarchy of Christian Europe, the failure of the old Imperial idea, he conceived a great and splendid ideal. Church and State were not to be separated; no one thought of separating them. Opposed to Henry IV.'s policy of ruling the Church he conceived the Church as mistress of Europe,

[1] Letter to the Archbishop of Mainz, *M.P.L.*, clxiii. 175.

mistress of the States, binding all together in one great commonwealth, the *respublica christiana*. And what common authority over so many separate rulers could there be but the one institution recognized by all, the Church that alone was founded by God himself? If the two are joined, how can the spiritual help being mistress of the temporal? And who could be the Head of such a united Christendom but the Prince who held the keys of Peter? Gregory had always an enthusiastic devotion to St Peter, an enormous idea of his dignity and the dignity of St Peter's See. Among so many clashing interests, rival princes, doubtful claims, here and here alone was a certain authority that no Christian could dispute. What king, what emperor could show such a title as the Bishop in whom Peter still lived and reigned, who based his authority, not on popular election nor conquest nor treaty, but on the words of Christ: "Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound also in heaven"?

So Gregory conceived most clearly the ideal that often occurred in the Middle Ages—a united Christian commonwealth under the overlordship of the Pope of Rome. The register of his letters is full of demands made to foreign princes that they should acknowledge their kingdoms as subject to the Holy See. He writes in this sense to Bohemia,[1] Russia,[2] Hungary,[3] Spain,[4] Sardinia,[5] Dalmatia,[6] England,[7] Denmark,[8] etc., in short, to every country of Catholic Christendom. His claim to authority over the Empire, founded on Leo III.'s crowning of Charles the Great, and over the Normans in Italy, whose kingdom was a fief of the Holy See, recurs most often of all. The reasons he gives for his suzerainty are different in each case, and very curious. Sometimes

[1] *Registrum*, i. 38 (p. 56); ii. 7 (p. 121). [2] ii. 74 (p. 198).
[3] ii. 13 (p. 127) [4] i. 7 (p. 16). [5] i. 29 (p. 45).
[6] vii. 4 (p. 384). [7] i. 70 (p. 89). [8] v. 10 (p. 298).

it is the *donatio Constantini*; sometimes some form of homage, direct or indirect, paid to a former Pope; sometimes a crown sent to the King from Rome. But the unity of his ideal is obvious. Essentially it is always the dream of a united Europe as one great commonwealth under the only authority that could exist over all. It was Gregory VII. who first conceived the idea of a crusade. When Catholic Christendom was united it was to move towards the East, the Pope at its head, subdue the schismatics at Constantinople, drive out the Moslem, and plant the cross again above the Holy City.[1] This idea of Papal suzerainty is the root of his claim to deposing power over kings. To whom can enslaved subjects appeal if not to the Head of Christendom, their chief and their king's chief? Such a claim is no part of the Catholic faith, it has long been given up. And Gregory's ideal was never realized. Future ages were to see the old quarrel between Church and State, Pope and King, still carried on, between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair of France, for instance, as it had been between Gregory VII. and Henry IV. the Emperor. Then came the Reformation to shatter finally any scheme of a united Christendom. And now we obey our temporal rulers (of any religion) in secular matters and the Pope in spiritual ones. Kingdoms will not again be fiefs of the Holy See. But one cannot look back to Gregory's ideal without admiring the genius that rose above the local politics of his time to so magnificent a dream. "The calm conviction with which Gregory VII. expresses himself gives a certain magnificence to his mystic idea of the relation between the changing and temporal things of earth and the eternal religious principle. He saw the world only as a form of the Christian ideal, unnecessary, temporary in its politics, but everlasting in

[1] He arranged this scheme about the year 1074. *Reg.*, i. 46 (p. 64), 49 (p. 69).

the Church that was to him the real world, the Kingdom of God, bearing in itself all other institutions at its service."[1] Gregory's dream of a Church reigning over kingdoms was not realized. What was realized was his reform after the horrors that had gone before. It is curious how governments till quite lately resented the honour we pay to the Pope who deposed Henry IV. He was canonized in 1606 by Paul V. France forbade his office in 1729; Napoleon Bonaparte resented it especially. In Holland the States General would not allow his feast to be kept; Maria Teresia in Austria forbade the lessons to be printed in 1744. Sicily and Venice would not recognize him as a saint. In 1828 at Paris, and in 1848 at Vienna, the office was again forbidden.

But for all that we remember Saint Gregory VII. each year on the day of his death (25th May) as the Pontiff whom God raised up *pro tuenda Ecclesiæ libertate,* and we pray that God may give us *eius exemplo et intercessione omnia adversantia fortiter superare*, while we look back across the long centuries to the death-bed at Salerno and hear "the last words of Gregory dying: *Dilexi iustitiam et odivi iniquitatem, propterea morior in exsilio.*"[2]

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[1] Gregorovius, iv. 169.

[2] *Brev. Rom.*, 25 maii, Lect. VI.

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AQUINAS

By the Very Rev. Vincent McNabb, O.P.

I

Some explanation must be made for seeming to interrupt the series of lectures on the History of Religions by another study on an individual thinker. The Editor has thought that the readers of these lectures could find no quicker way to the objective idea of "Thirteenth Century Catholicism" than by studying a great thinker whom Catholics look upon as the type and product of his century. As far as possible the writer of this lecture will view St. Thomas as a representative mind, who embodies thoughts and ways of thinking which make him a classic for all times.

A chronological list is needed to give St. Thomas place in the world of thought and action :—

1212. Frederic II., Emperor.
1227. Gregory IX., Pope ;—S. Louis, King.
St. Thomas born.
1232. Goes to Monte Cassino.
1239. Monte Cassino taken by Frederic's soldiers.
1240. St. Thomas goes to University of Naples.
1241. Celestine IV.—Innocent IV.
1243. St. Thomas joins Friar-Preachers at Naples.
1244. In prison—Goes to Cologne with Master General.
1245. Albert the Great takes him to Paris as student.
1248. „ „ „ Cologne as lector.
1250. Frederic dies.
1252. St. Thomas goes to Paris as bachelor.
1254. Alexander IV.
1256. Writes against William of St. Amour.
1257. Made Doctor and Regent.

1261. URBAN IV.
St. Thomas made Master of Sacred Palace.
Journeys with Papal Court to Anagni, Viterbo, Perugia, Orvieto.
1263. St. Thomas present at Gen. Chapter, London.
1264. CLEMENT IV.
1265. Goes to Rome.
1266. „ „ Bologna.
1268. CLEMENT IV. dies.
1269. Goes to Paris.
1270. St. Louis dies.
1271. B. GREGORY IX.
St. Thomas at Bologna.
1272. „ „ Naples.
1274. Mar. 7, St. Thomas dies.

A glance at this meagre list of dates will make us ask if any other writer of the thirteenth century had seen or experienced so much as the Dumb Ox of Sicily. His grandmother, Frances, daughter of Frederic of Suabia, had married Thomas, Duke of Loreto. St. Thomas was therefore second cousin of Frederic II., whose character dominates the first half of the thirteenth century. This cousin of the Emperor had been driven, as a boy, from his monastery home at Monte Cassino by the troops of the Emperor—had passed five of the most impressionable years of youth at Naples, the brilliant, half oriental university and capital of the empire—had spent a year in prison, with Aristotle!—had fled to Germany with John the Teuton, Master General of the Friar-Preachers, once a courtier and friend of Frederic—had been taken as a precious trust by Albert the Great to Paris, the one centre of unfettered thought—had spent some eight years under the influence of Albert, the unchallenged master of bold scientific thinking—had faced the criticism of Paris as a teacher for nine years—had followed the court of Urban IV.—had sat in the General Chapter held at Holborn in 1263, whilst London was preparing to imitate the rest of England in welcoming Simon de Montfort—had written an

unanswerable book to help St. Raymund de Penafort against the Spanish Moors—had been commanded by Urban IV. to write an equally unanswerable book against the Greeks—had refused, as a youth, to be Abbot of the greatest Abbey in Christendom—had refused in his last years to wear the purple of an Archbishop, and probably the scarlet of a Cardinal—had been the chosen counsellor of Kings and Popes—and had thereby justified the words spoken of him later on in the Liturgy:—

> The wise man will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients;
> And will be occupied in the prophets.
>
> He will keep the sayings of renowned men;
> And will enter withal into the subtilties of parables.
>
> He shall serve among great men;
> And appear before the Governor.
>
> He shall pass into strange countries;
> For he shall try good and evil in men.
>
> [Ecclus. xxxix. 1–5.]

We do not mention these things merely to glorify a hero, but to draw attention to the opportunities a master mind had of making a vast synthesis of world-knowledge such as was possible to the thirteenth century. To make this clearer, our readers should contrast this life with the life of any modern thinker, say, Newman. Of all the syntheses of modern thought left us by the nineteenth century, it may well be asked if Newman's is not the most thorough and true, though not the most minute. Kant, Hegel, Comte, Darwin, Spencer have left generalisations of greater minuteness than the *Grammar of Assent* or the *Essay on Development*. But the student of pure valid thinking must come back to Littlemore and Edgbaston at last, if only for inspiration; yet, compared with St. Thomas, Newman is almost a recluse. Born of a bourgeois stock and brought up in a dame's school,

he had seen little of the world except his own land, and little of his own land except his own University. He garnered few things elsewhere than from the daily wrestlings with his own dauntless mind and soul. In his imperial blood and more imperial mind and in his almost world-wide experience, St. Thomas had a way of approach to the thoughts of his time which even Newman lacked. Yet, of course, in some spheres of knowledge the nineteenth century laid more at the door of even its little children than the thirteenth century could offer its greatest geniuses.

II

St. Thomas and the Soul

A glance at the Index on p. 32 will give the reader a clear view of the matter we intend to develop, and the manner of development.

He must not suppose that this manner of development is that of St. Thomas himself. It is the writer's own ground-plan or section of the mind of St. Thomas. Confusion would arise if it was supposed that the Saint based everything on psychology, as Descartes did.

The base of St. Thomas's psychology is perhaps the unity of the human person. To his mind the Ego is one. The conviction of this personal unity is a primary intuition. It is not the primary intuition in the sense in which Descartes held the primary intuition to be "Cogito, ergo sum." But the ineradicable conviction that we are *one* is used by St. Thomas to answer most of the fundamental difficulties of psychology. Many currents of thought then stirring the minds of Europe were resolutely rejected by St. Thomas.

Philosophers and mystics were found to say that the soul was not the only "form" [1] of the body, or

[1] Primal source of activity.

that the form of the body was but the one Universal Soul. It is a witness of the sound sense of St. Thomas that the basis of his psychology was a conviction that, no matter how many difficulties it might draw upon itself, the human personality was a "unity."

The first and clearest difficulty raised by this transcendent unity of the person was the undeniable multiplicity of the personal activities. If it was an undeniable conviction that the human personality was one being, it was no less a conviction and no less undeniable that this being had a great number of different and almost opposite operations. To meet this difficulty St. Thomas freely accepted the traditional explanation of "faculties." There was not even a verbal opposition in the statement that man was one being with many faculties (or powers or potencies).

Nowadays it has become easier for us to accept this statement. Biology has given us a newer or firmer grasp of what may be called an organic unity, in contradistinction to a mere mathematical, mechanical or chemical unity.

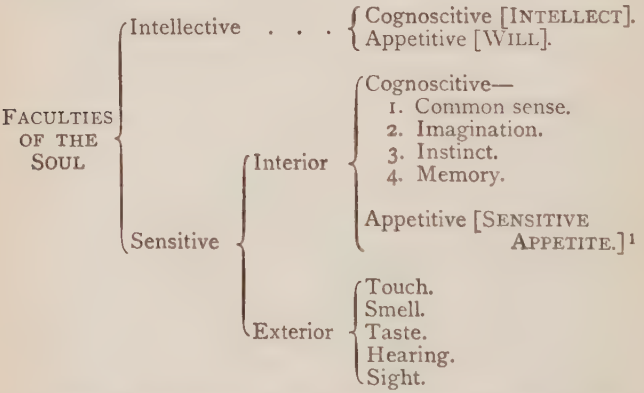
St. Thomas held that there is a real distinction between one faculty and another, and between the faculties and the soul.

Hence we can say: "The man is not his intellect —The intellect is not the man—The intellect is not the will—The will is not the intellect. I am not my intellect, I am not my will. I have an intellect, I have a will." All these real propositions—to use a phrase of Newman's—are capable and clamorous of a real assent.

On the whole, it may be questioned whether the organic unity and functional multiplicity of the human being has ever been better formulated. The unity is recognised to be so absolute that the soul is indivisible and, so to say, omnipresent in the whole body, as electricity is everywhere in the live wire.

Yet, there is a true difference of activity. Feeling is not thinking, nor is thinking willing. And this difference is not merely logical but psychological. It is as manifold as the activities of a live electric wire, which at one and the same moment is light, heat, sound, chemical action, and mechanical movement.

St. Thomas does not accept the division of psychological powers into "Thought, Feeling, Will." The power of Feeling seems to him to be largely identified with the Will. The subjoined scheme may be valuable to students.



It may be remarked that this scheme of the powers of the human soul is perhaps the best key to the study of Catholic Philosophy and Theology. Students are

[1] St. Thomas defines Passions as "Acts of the Sensitive Appetite." Under the heading of Passions he gives the most exhaustive analysis of the emotional side of the Soul. It is of this analysis that Jourdain has written: "In Psychology what part is due to the originality of St. Thomas? Over and above the vigorous exposition which here, as elsewhere, is due wholly to himself . . . there is the deep, detailed, accurate analysis of the passions. . . . In general, the exemplar he has had before his eyes is human nature. Thus it may be noticed that the articles of the Summa contain few quotations; knowledge of the human heart takes the place of mere scholarship."—*La Philosophie de S. Thomas d'Aquin.*, Ch. Jourdain, t. i. ch. 7.

surprised to find it unlocking not merely the secrets of the human heart, but the still more intricate wards and locks of the Incarnation and the Blessed Trinity.

Theory of Knowledge
(*Epistemology*)

The conviction that the soul is an organic whole led St. Thomas to the further conviction that knowledge is an organic whole. He had been taught and he had learned that philosophy was knowledge; and that it was knowledge of all things in the first causes of all things. This view of philosophy rested on two magnificent intuitions: first, that things are a unity, or that the world is a κόσμος; second, that thoughts may be a unity, and may thus be a μικροκόσμος. Philosophy is a view of the whole as a whole. From his outlook the philosopher does not see things, but a world; and his philosophy is not something that he thinks, but everything that he thinks.

Now if philosophy is a unity of thought that mirrors the unity of things, and the idea of God is the highest unity, it was natural that, to the mind of St. Thomas, philosophy should broaden into theology. Theology could thus give a welcome to everything. Cosmology, the humblest of the sciences, became the unity of God's power and wisdom. Religion, the highest, became the unity of God's love. So organic was this unity to the medieval theologian that the Credo became a vast Body of Doctrine (*Corpus Doctrinæ*); with joints (*Articuli*) as of a living thing.

With characteristic soundness of judgement, St. Thomas frankly takes sides with the common sense of mankind in holding that the cognoscitive faculties have direct and, so to say, intuitional knowledge of their object. He parts company with those who hold that the cognoscitive faculties have direct knowledge of the image or concept or idea, and that from the knowledge

of this mental object they deduce the existence of an extra-mental object. It is almost inconceivable what subtle arguments may be brought in support of this last theory. But St. Thomas was too much a master of psychology to attempt to express an intuition in terms of a ratiocination,—the primary in terms of the secondary.

Another most characteristic display of sound sense is the principle "nihil est in intellectu nisi prius fuerit in sensu." This is empiricism of a most refreshing kind. Put in another way, it means "objective verification." Modern natural science is the cult of this Aristotelian revolt from Plato's mysticism. And the whole attitude of St. Thomas's mind is in harmony with modern science.

It is a pity that the *Grammar of Assent* ended with the proclamation of what looks dangerously like a new faculty — the Illative Sense. Already St. Thomas had spoken of the "recta ratio agibilium" and the "recta ratio factibilium," *i.e.* the peculiar intellectual activity for doing and for making. But whilst St. Thomas would have regretted the invention of a new name—the Illative Sense—for a faculty which was illative but not a "Sense," he would have delighted in Newman's wonderfully subtle and accurate analysis of the human mind dealing with convergent evidence of concrete facts.

He followed Aristotle's division of proofs into "a priori" and "a posteriori." Far from scouting inductive methods, he insisted that only by inductive reasoning could the mind rise to the certainty of God's existence. Throughout the length and breadth of his *Summa*, the student will be exhilarated by the clever use he everywhere makes of inductive methods. In matters of physical science, *e.g.* in astronomy, he recognizes that inductive theories are not always undeniable merely because they fit all the facts. Some other theory may equally fit all the known facts.

Of far greater importance is his division into natural knowledge [Reason] and supernatural knowledge [Revelation]. Even in our own days no phrases are of such importance for understanding the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and few phrases are more liable to be misunderstood. It would need a book rather than a paragraph to explain them satisfactorily. In the process of arriving at certitude there are—I. The Faculty (Intellect). II. Object. III. Medium. Only when the object is a natural object, and the medium a natural medium, and the intellect unassisted by supernatural aid, is the knowledge natural [Reason]. Any supernatural modification of the Faculty, Object, or Medium makes the knowledge supernatural [Revelation, Inspiration].

No one has been more careful than St. Thomas to insist on scholarly accuracy in the matter of Dogma. Again and again he insists that the proofs brought forward for mysteries do not really prove. The most they can do is to show that these mysteries of faith are not opposed to reason because not impossible in themselves. In the hands of a genius like St. Thomas they also prepare the mind to see throughout the Being and handiwork of God certain striking likenesses based on the presence of the great laws of Being and Life. Of all modern views of the supernatural, none is more in consonance with the best thoughts of St. Thomas than Butler's *Analogy* and Newman's *Development of Doctrine,* which may almost be called the second volume of the *Analogy.* And this view is in great measure consecrated by the words of the Vatican Council: "Reason . . . attains by a gift from God some, and that a very fruitful, understanding of mysteries; partly from the analogy of those things which it naturally knows, partly from the relations which the mysteries bear to one another and to the last end of man."[1]

[1] *Ibid.*, iv.

The primary source of these mysteries is Revelation, which is stored up in tradition and Scripture. At a time when the works of Aristotle, the "Philosopher" *par excellence*, were the object of suspicion, and even condemnation, it is consoling to recall the wise breadth of St. Thomas. Although tradition is primarily to be sought in the official documents and acts of the Church teaching and in the beliefs of the Church taught, yet there is a sense in which even pagan philosophy enshrines revelation. "The study of philosophy is lawful and praiseworthy of itself because of the truth which the philosophers have received through the revelation of God, as is said Rom. i. 19."[1]

All the vexed problems of Sacred Scripture which confront us in modern times are made clear by the psychological principles of St. Thomas. He follows St. Augustine in recognizing that although no formal falsehood is put forward by a sacred writer, yet different eye-witnesses may give different accounts of the same event. No one has recognized more clearly than St. Thomas that the inspired writers accommodated their message to the mental and moral level of their hearers. And the wonderful distinction which he makes between revelation and inspiration has provided modern thinkers with a way through the encumbered thicket of historical, ethical, philosophical, and theological difficulties of the Sacred Books.

Doctrine of God
(*Theology*)[2]

Theology is organized knowledge of God. It consists of a number of natural conclusions and supernatural revelations, so intertwined in the thought

[1] 2^a, 2^{ae}, Qu. 167, Art. 1, ad. 3^m.
[2] *Cf.* Appendix.

of the individual and the human race that it is not always easy to say what reason alone can know, and what revelation alone can teach.

The Vatican Council has followed St. Thomas in declaring that "God, the beginning and end of all things, may be certainly known by the natural light of human reason, by means of created things."[1] St. Thomas sums up the spheres of natural and supernatural knowledge of God by saying that Reason can prove the existence [quod sit] of God, whereas Revelation alone can show the essence [quid sit] of God. Or again, Reason can prove the Unity of God, and Revelation can prove the Trinity of God.

In treating of the Unity of God, St. Thomas has a famous article on God's existence, which embraces five proofs and two replies to objections.

It should interest modern thinkers that St. Thomas has approached the "proofs" of God's existence by accurately stating what he means by proof. Much loose thinking and useless discussion would be avoided nowadays if men copied his wisdom. He has somewhere suggested that although every fact or thing has but one essential proof, yet for human minds there are almost as many proofs as minds. Some of these proofs are more telling than others. Often it is the proof weakest in itself that is strongest for us. And thus in classifying the proofs of the existence of God, which we may almost call man's "ways of approach" to God, he speaks of the "prima et manifestior via"—the first and clearest way, from the fact of movement.

It should interest modern scientists that this "first and most obvious way" to God starts from the same point as modern science starts—the fact of movement. And the conclusion should seem to be that any overthrow of God is an equal overthrow of science. The argument, moreover, is a bold effort

[1] *Conc. Vatic. Constit. Dogm. de Fide Cath.*, ii.

to give even our knowledge of God an empiric basis.

The Saint's doctrine of the Trinity is one of the most marvellous products of human thought. It is based chiefly on three concepts :—

I. The intellectual nature of God.
II. The distinction between substance and accidents.
III. Relationship.

Merely as an effort of thinking, this exposition of St. Thomas is perhaps the most extraordinary effort of the human mind. Nowadays, when German transcendentalists have turned our thoughts towards Relativism, more notice should be taken of St. Thomas's attempt to build up the manifold in God's unity out of this shadowy accompaniment of all thinking and all willing.

The psychological doctrine of nature and personality so wonderfully analysed in the Trinity, is given a wholly new treatment in the doctrine of the Incarnation. The two doctrines are like two sections of the same fact cutting each other at right angles. In days when the besetting temptation of philosophy is towards Pantheism, with its absorption of the individual in the species, men's mind should turn back towards the extraordinarily profound analysis of nature and personality to be found in St. Thomas. Modern philosophy has not gone forward from these thoughts; it has gone away from them. If headway is to be made we must go back to them, master them by serious study, and toil to add a painful stone here and there to the structure of thought.

St. Thomas has no narrow view of the cosmic significance of the Incarnation. To him it is not a mere event, a religious development issuing in a sect. It is the central fact of the world, the pivot and key of history, bringing in the final form of religion.

Nor is its interest merely or mainly historic. It did not come and go. Even now it still goes on.

It is still the "Via ad Deum," man's way to personal union with God. Jesus Christ is the consummate work of God, the supreme type, the Λόγος, the A and Ω, the First and Last Word. To the mind of St. Thomas the difficulties about Church Government, or the Sacramental System, or the Communion of Saints, or the privileges of the Blessed Virgin, or the forgiveness of sins, or Purgatory, or Predestination, are all to be viewed through the "mind of Christ." Most characteristically, he has placed his treatise on the privileges of Mary as a section of his larger treatise on the Incarnation. His one great hesitation about the Immaculate Conception was born of a scruple lest men should deny that the Son of Mary was also her Redeemer. In these latter days the Church has done justice to his scruple by explicitly defining that our Blessed Lady's Immaculate Conception was due to the action of preventive grace; that this grace was purchased by the blood of Christ, and that therefore our Blessed Lord was in a special way His Mother's Redeemer.

Students of the psychology of Jesus Christ will find most luminous principles in St. Thomas's treatise, *De Incarnatione*. The prolonged disputes of the Eastern theologians had made the Church explicitly define the dual will in Christ, and the opposition which could consequently take place between Christ's human and divine will. Strangely enough, there had been no parallel explanation of the duality in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, with perhaps its consequent opposition between His human and divine knowledge. On first examining the subject St. Thomas would not admit that in the human knowledge—the "Scientia acquisita" of Jesus Christ—there could be any real growth. Later on, in the maturity of his thought, when he came to look more closely into the matter, he states his withdrawal from this opinion with great simplicity. It is interesting

to note that if he admits growth in the human and acquired knowledge of Jesus Christ, he does so on psychological grounds, viz. that otherwise one of Jesus Christ's powers or activities would not be exercised. It is not too much to suggest that only in the psychological principles of this masterly treatise of St. Thomas is to be found a way of meeting the difficulties modern scholarship has stumbled upon in analysing the gospel reports of the mind of Christ.

Ethics

Jourdain has written: "The Ethics of St. Thomas are commonly looked on as the most remarkable part of his works. Even when scholasticism had fallen into complete discredit, as in the eighteenth century, it still kept a glimmer of celebrity."

Isaac Walton has written of Bishop Sanderson that "he declined reading many books, but what he did read were well chosen, and read so often that he became very familiar with them. They were principally three—Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Aquinas's *Secunda Secundæ*, and Cicero."

The late Aubrey Moore, one of the most brilliant contributors to *Lux Mundi*, in a review of Dr. Martineau's *Types of Ethical Theory*, writes: "He (Dr. Martineau) might have got at least as much from a study of Thomas of Aquinas, as from the scepticism of Descartes, or the pantheism of Spinoza, or the positivism of Comte."[1]

An ethical doctrine which still wields influence on minds so unlike must be worth examination.

St. Thomas seems to grant that there is a science of Ethics; in other words, that the vital action of the will can be stated in terms of the intellect. He was too great a saint to think that ethics, as a vital force,

[1] *Essays, Scientific and Philosophical*, by Aubrey L. Moore, London, 1890, p. xxi.

was merely an organized knowledge. The ethical end is not a cultured mind, but a disciplined will.

The method of ethics *as a science* is mainly inductive, yet largely deductive. Ethics, of course, should not be a science, but a life; and should be neither deductive nor inductive, but volitional and practical.

Aristotle is everywhere the master of St. Thomas. He rarely, if ever, departs from the master. All that is true in Greek ethics finds its place in the vast synthesis of the Christian thinker. He does not destroy, but fulfil. He subtracts little, but adds much. There is hardly even a chance word of Aristotle that is not developed, and whole areas of Christian ethics are added to Aristotle's masterly summary of Grecian thought.

To take an example. St. Thomas freely accepts Aristotle's view that happiness is the last end of the will; and that the happiness of a rational will should consist in the act of contemplation. But St. Thomas adds the Christian doctrine of the unveiled and direct vision of the divine substance, based on the inspired words of St. John and St. Paul, and the bold intuitions of St. Augustine of Hippo.

Again, because the Good is the object of the human will, the will must be defined in terms of good, and good must be defined in terms of the will. Ethics is, then, the science of making or preserving or fostering a good will. The instincts of a good will are the principles of ethics. All this is the common teaching of Aristotle and Aquinas. But the pupil had the advantage over his master to the extent that the Decalogue had the advantage over Greek morals of the age of Aristotle, or the Sermon on the Mount surpassed the laws of Alexander the Great.

Again, the subject of virtues or moral habits incorporates all that is best in Grecian ethics. But everywhere developments and additions of the most

substantial kind are made. Ethics are linked more closely with psychology. The virtues are classified by, and connected with, the mental faculties more efficiently. St. Thomas has too great respect for traditions sanctioned by Plato in his *Republic*, Aristotle in his *Ethics*, and Cicero in his *De Officiis*, to discard the four cardinal virtues. But under his touch they receive a new development, which denies nothing that the masters have said, yet adds leaf and fruit to them. The student has but to compare Aristotle's treatise on Justice with St. Thomas's wonderful development, including the treatise on "Religion"—man's justice towards God. Besides these developments there are wholesale additions. No pagan ethical writer could have mapped out the wonderful treatises on Faith, Hope, and Charity.

Perhaps the most fundamental and most subtle parting of the ways between Aristotle and Aquinas takes place in the organic unity of the virtues. It was felt by both that the manifold of virtues is rooted in an ethical unity—that to have one virtue is in some degree to have all—that growth in one virtue is in some degree growth in all—and that "whosoever shall keep the whole law but offend in one point is become guilty of all."[1] This solidarity of the ethical soul is no mean concept. It is but another facet of the doctrine of personality. Aristotle and Aquinas agreed on this doctrine only to differ on another. The Grecian concept was that all virtues were united in prudence. No doubt this concept was fundamentally true; but it was incomplete, and therefore dangerous. If virtues were united in prudence, and prudence was a virtue in the intellect, then the resultant unity and solidarity were intellectual; nor was there any true ethical solidarity: and the essence of Grecian virtue became historically a compromise. St. Thomas freed himself from these difficulties by

[1] James ii. 10.

boldly placing the unity of the virtues, not in prudence, but in charity or love. To him the unity and solidarity were ethical. Virtue was not a compromise, but almost a sacrifice. Ethics became lyrical. It ceased to be—as in Plato's *Republic*—a dialogue; and became—as in Augustine's *Confessions*—an apostrophe.

Soteriology

However much the Greek people and the Greek poets felt the burden of sin, it had no place in the writings of the Grecian moralists. In view of this, Plato's disdain of the poets is only an evidence that at times the poet is more a prophet than is the philosopher.

Christian ethics, by frankly accepting the fact of sin, becomes thereby a soteriology. The human will needs more than a model; it demands a Redeemer. St. Thomas has even a clearer concept than Aristotle has of the freedom of the human will. But Aristotle gives no signs of recognizing that this will, if free, is still burdened with the dregs of sin, as if, in spite of being delivered from prison, it were still fettered.

Whilst holding that, as far as the Sacred Scriptures impart divine secrets, the Redeemer would not have come had Adam not sinned, St. Thomas nowise makes the Incarnation identical with Redemption. Jesus Christ's work was not to raise the human race back to its forfeited state, but to raise it up to a higher state than it had forfeited. The whole economy of the Incarnation becomes to St. Thomas's mind the centre of the cosmic progress towards God. It is not mere deliverance from sin, but the beginning of a supernatural destiny; it is not the destruction of evil by good, but the bringing of the highest good out of the lowest evil; it is not mercy forgiving a fault, but love crowning forgiveness by new and undreamed mercies.

The Incarnation means the cure of man's free-will. But this cure can be wrought only by man freely willing. As man's freedom of will cannot be overcome, in ethics, by any intellectual convictions, however necessary, neither can it be overcome, in soteriology, by any redemptive grace, however supreme. Whatever happens, man is free.

This freedom of the will, which St. Thomas would call one of our primary intuitions, meets with grave difficulties in any scheme of Redemption. Under the action of grace, it would seem to be a mere puppet in the moulding and directive hand of God. St. Thomas is keenly alive to the difficulties ; but no amount of apparent contradiction betrays him into suppressing one of two truths. Thus, in dealing with the sovereign sway of God's power and grace over free-will, he recognizes that God is the first Efficient Cause of every being and act, that secondary causes are really efficient causes, and that man is really free. He is not betrayed into the almost irresistible inconsequence of saying that the primary and secondary causes are responsible, each for their share. He prefers the paradox that each is a "causa totalis," and he mitigates the paradox by the naïve addition "each in its own order." They have not different shares, but different spheres. Yet this paradox is nearer the truth than any attempted explanation; for, the sphere of mystery is not so much one of explanation and conviction as of statement and acceptance.

In the same way all the difficulties raised by predestination are met by the dual acceptance of God's knowledge and will and man's freedom. St. Thomas clings strenuously to these two facts of theology and experience. He does not explain the mystery, though he does explain the terms in which the mystery is stated. If, by a process of reasoning, it seems demonstrated that from God's foreknowledge

and predestination man's act must *necessarily* follow, St. Thomas substitutes *infallibly* for *necessarily*. But this is only the substitution of a word, and not the explanation of a mystery. And if he uses it, he does so in deference to his masters, who have tempered the stress of their ruthless reasonings by mildly reasserting their intuitions.

Asceticism: Mysticism

It can be imagined that so consummate a teacher of Ethics would be no mean master of Ascetics. The Manichean asceticism of the Albigenses and the stern denials of the Mohammedans were well known to him. From the excesses of these false schools of asceticism he was saved by his sound spiritual sense and the wise teaching of his master Cassian, to whose *Lives of the Fathers* Western asceticism owes a heavy debt.

St. Thomas leaned heavily upon St. Augustine's principle that no being, as being, is evil. To be is good. The Manichean doctrine that the body, amongst other things, was evil, found in St. Augustine and his faithful pupil St. Thomas most resolute foes. To their mind the body, far from beng an evil and a hindrance to the soul, is good, and is the God-appointed helpmate of the soul. The senses are the avenues to the mind. Asceticism, then, does not consist in destroying these avenues, but in clearing away the undergrowth choking the fair-way.

A second principle of the Asceticism of St. Thomas is that "perfection is charity." Love is the fulfilling of the law. Love alone is the end. All else is a means. The end can never be foregone. The means must never be rigidly taken as an end. With this wise principle a certain pliability was introduced into asceticism without which it would have degenerated into the rigidity of mere fakirism.

Lastly, St. Thomas lays stress on the important virtue of epikeia, which enables the subject of a law to judge in what cases the mind of the lawgiver is best fulfilled by neglecting the letter of the law.

In Mysticism, St. Thomas had as his masters those men of the Rhineland who began the great school of German mystics. So near is he akin to these masters that many of their works are almost unintelligible except by aid of the principles of St. Thomas. Almost all the great mystics since his time have drunk deeply of his spiritual experience and wisdom. The Carmelite School, with St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, do little more than expand his teaching. St. Ignatius left the love of St. Thomas as a watchword to his soldier sons. St. Philip Neri had the *Summa* of St. Thomas almost always in his hands. A gifted son of St. Philip has written, "The agreement of Tauler with his great master (St. Thomas) is another proof of his orthodoxy. . . . Not only do we decide, with St. Thomas, nine-tenths of the great questions which are taught in our seminaries in the treatises on God, the Holy Trinity, and the Incarnation, *but he has laid the foundations* of mystical theology besides."[1]

The concluding questions of the *Secunda Secundæ*, besides giving the principles of Biblical inspiration, lay down the laws whereby the phenomena of mysticism become linked with psychology and ethics.

Political and Social Economy

It came as a surprise to many that Leo XIII., when addressing statesmen on Social Economy in his Encyclical "Rerum Novarum," should make use of St. Thomas.

Amongst the principles adopted by this philosopher of the century of Magna Charta and Simon de Mont-

[1] *The German Mystics*, by John Bernard Dalgairns, London, 1858.

fort are that unjust rulers may be deposed—that unjust laws are tyranny—that conscience has rights and must be obeyed—that man has a right to live, to have a wage and home—that man as man has thereby a fundamental right to some kind of ownership—that not this right but the determination of this right belongs to the State—that law is not merely coercive but directive—that the end of the State is to make good citizens—that, consequently, political and social economy are not mere mathematical sciences, but are largely ethical.

It will thus be seen how large a share is taken in the progress of religious thought by this great mind, on whom Italy had bestowed the dogmatic principle; Naples, the classical principle; Cologne, the inductive principle; Paris, the rationalistic principle,—and the Catholic Church the final honours as a Saint, and supreme trust as a Teacher.

III

No clearer way of bringing St. Thomas to the understanding of the reader can be devised than placing beneath his eyes a characteristic passage from the Saint's own writings. Their manner and method will thus be revealed with a truthfulness to life which no mere description could hope to convey.

The brief commentary points out some of the most modern and valid processes of reasoning on these matters, and St. Thomas's own position is thus defined.

A

Whether there is a God

1. It seems there is no God. For if one of two contraries be infinite, the other is wholly destroyed. But this word God is taken to mean the infinite

good. Hence if there is a God, nothing evil should be found. But evil is found in the world, therefore there is no God.

2. Moreover, what can be brought about by a few principles is not wrought by many. But it seems that whatsoever is apparent in this world can be brought about by other principles, granted that there is no God; because natural things are reducible to that principle which is Nature; and deliberate things are reducible to that principle which is human reason or will. Therefore there is no need to presuppose that there is a God.

But on the other hand it is said (Exod. iii. 14) in the person of God, "I am who am."

I reply by saying that in five ways can it be proved that there is a God.

The *first* and more obvious way is derived from the fact of movement. For it is certain and plain to our senses that in this world there are things that are in motion. Now whatever is in motion is moved by another. For nothing is in motion unless it is "in potency" to that towards which it is moving. And nothing moves so far as it is "in act"; since to move is to lead a thing from potency to actuality. Now nothing can be led from potency to actuality except by something in act; as the actually hot fire makes the potentially hot wood to be actually hot, thereby moving and altering it. But it is impossible that the same thing be at once in act and in potency in the same, but only in a different, way; for what is actually hot cannot be at the same time potentially hot, but is potentially cold. Therefore it is impossible that the same thing in the same way shall be at once mover and moved; in other words, move itself. Therefore whatever is in motion is moved by another. But if the mover is itself moved, then it too must be moved by another, and so on. Now we cannot go on *ad infinitum*; otherwise there would be no first mover

and consequently no other mover, for the secondary movers move only because they themselves are moved by the first, as the stave moves only because it is moved by the hand. Therefore we must at last come to a first mover, which is not itself moved, and all take this to be God.

The *second* way is derived from the idea of efficient causality. For in things that strike the senses we find an order of efficient causes; nor do we find, nor is it possible, that anything is the efficient cause of itself, otherwise it would be prior to itself, which is impossible. Now in efficient causes it is impossible to go on *ad infinitum*, for in all co-ordinated efficient causes the primary is cause of the secondary, and the secondary of the ultimate, whether the secondary are many or only one. Now to take away the cause is to take away the effect. Therefore if there was no primary efficient cause there would be no ultimate and no secondary. But if we go on *ad infinitum* in efficient causes there will be no first efficient cause and no ultimate effect and no secondary efficient causes, which is manifestly false. Therefore we must presuppose some first efficient cause, which all call God.

The *third* way is taken from the possible and *necessary*, and is of this nature. We find in things that some have the possibility of being or not being, since some are found to be begotten and corrupted, and hence have the possibility of being and not being. But all these things cannot possibly have been always; for what has the possibility of not being sometimes is not.[1] Hence if everything has the possibility of not being, there was once nothing. But if this is true, there is still nothing, for what is not cannot begin to be, unless through something that is. So that if there once was nothing, it was

[1] No translation can express the diamond-like compression and clearness of this scholastic Latin, "Quod possible est non esse, quandoque non est."

impossible that anything should begin to be, and thus there would still be nothing; which is clearly false. Therefore not all beings are possible, but some must be necessary. Now every necessary being has the cause of its necessity either outside itself or not. But just as in efficient causes, so likewise in necessary beings which have the cause of their necessity outside themselves, we cannot go on *ad infinitum*. We must therefore presuppose a Being which is necessary of itself, and is the cause of the necessity of other beings; and all call this God.

The *fourth* way is taken from the various grades found in things. For we find in things something more or less good, true, noble, and so on. Now "more and less" are applied to various things in so far as they in various ways draw near to what is "most"; as the more hot is that which draws nearer the most hot. Hence there is something which is most wise and best and most noble, and consequently most existent.[1] For what is most true is most existent.[1] Now what is "most" in any genus is cause of all the others of that genus; as fire which is most hot is the cause of all things that are hot. Therefore there is something that for all beings is the cause of their being and goodness and every other perfection; and this we call God.

The *fifth* way is taken from the government of things. For we see that some things which lack knowledge, namely, natural bodies, operate for an end. This appears from the fact that they always or often operate in the same way, so that they may do the best. Hence it is clear that they reach their end, not by chance but by design. But beings that lack knowledge do not make towards an end unless directed by some cognoscitive and intelligent being, as the arrow by the archer. Therefore there is some

[1] "Maxime ens." Again, it is almost impossible to find in any modern language the equivalent of this terse and accurate scholastic Latin.

intelligence by whom all natural things are directed towards their end; and this we call God.

To the first be it said, that as Augustine says in his *Enchiridion*: "God, since He is the Highest Good, would not let evil be in his works unless He was so almighty and good as to bring good out of evil." Hence it is even part of God's infinite goodness, to allow evil in order to bring out good.

To the second be it said that, since Nature works for a definite end in so far as it is directed by a higher agent, whatever is wrought by Nature must have God as its first Cause. So, too, whatever springs from design must be reduced to some higher cause than the human reason or will, for these change and wane; and all things changeable and waning must be reduced to some first principle which is immovable and necessary.

We have thought that a brief commentary on this typical article of the *Summa Theologica* would give the best view of St. Thomas's manner.

1. It will be granted that this manner is essentially scientific. It has the precision and terseness of a text-book. Moreover, it is frankly and in the best sense rational. Indeed, so heavily does it lean upon clear reasoning that we can see the genesis of the profound saying that "Rationalism was begotten of Scholasticism." Gratry was perhaps right in saying to his contemporaries: "St. Thomas is unkown to us because he is too great. His book [the *Summa*], as Homer would have said, is one of those huge rocks that ten men of our day could not lift. Our minds are so accustomed to the diffusiveness of the modern manner, that they cannot bear the style of St. Thomas with its metallic density." From the point of view of comparative religion there is something almost unprecedented in this reverent rationalism. For the century which produced it was not a period of scepticism, but an age of faith.

2. St. Thomas is quite certain that we have no *a*

priori approaches to the Infinite. He boldly trusts to inductive methods for justifying man's way to God.

3. It is a principle of St. Thomas as of Aristotle—and, later on, of Locke—that all our knowledge begins with the senses. The senses are the gateways to Science. No little of the Crusaders' daring is embedded in the attempt of this cousin of Frederic to prove the existence of God from the most elementary data of the senses. No wonder the Dumb Ox of Sicily incurred the taunt of "heretic"!

4. But then his acute mind had grasped a distinction which later on in the hands of Hume was used as a hammer of Empiricism. In his "first and more obvious" way he begins from the observed fact of motion or succession. In his second way he begins with the idea of causality. Hume was irresistible in urging against the Empiricists that their claims to derive all—even intellectual—knowledge from sensible knowledge was disproved from the fact that the idea of causality was not derivable from the mere idea of succession. No mere succession is identical with influx, and St. Thomas preceded Hume in insisting on this distinction.

5. The difficulty which Kant solved by a distinction of things-in-themselves and things-for-us, or objects given us and objects made by us, seems to have been present to St. Thomas's mind. He did not solve it, as some tired minds solve it, by an appeal to innate ideas. It was enough for him to accept the common and irresistible instinct of human nature to accept as true and objective the reports of every faculty of the personalty, whether sensitive, intellectual, emotional, volitional. And if Kant had said that the proposition "whatever is in motion is moved by another" is a synthetic *a priori* judgement, I am not sure that he and Kant would long have disagreed.

6. It is a striking witness to his power of generalization that he seems to have been the first to group

these five "ways" to the existence of God. Since his time they have not been added to, and their value has not been overthrown.

7. With extraordinary caution he calls them, not five proofs, but five "viæ" ways. It is one of his principles that every truth has but one essential proof. These "viæ" are the ways any mind may take that wayfares Godwards!

8. Moreover, their witness is, so to say, cumulative. They thereby justify Newman's doctrine on real assents. As the mind wayfares through them it realizes the existence of a First Immoveable Mover—that is, a Cause not only of motion but of existence, which is therefore necessary and perfect—and has a care of the work of His hand.

9. Lastly, the Saint's insight into the deep things of the mind is nowhere more manifest than in the two objections he brings against the existence of God—first, the *ethical* difficulty of *evil*; second, the *scientific* difficulty of *Nature*. And his answers outline all that the human mind may say to still its own restless questionings.

B

As a sample of the critical and apologetic methods of the thirteenth century, our readers may be glad to have their attention drawn to the treatise of St. Thomas found in the Third Part of his *Summa Theologica*, question 55.

A brief introductory analysis of two articles (v., vi.) will serve as a simple guide and commentary to the mind and method of the great thinker.

It is characteristic of the mind of Aquinas that he begins his thinking by an attempt to settle his vocabulary. We have already drawn attention to the fact that prior to his attempt to "prove" the existence of God [p. 11] he settles what he means by the word "proof." It is his naïve way of beginning at the be-

ginning.[1] We need not stay to insist how regrettable it is that in this matter his cautiousness and intellectual humility are not oftener copied nowadays.

Faithful, therefore, to his scholarly instinct for accuracy, he prefixes a characteristic and finished study of the word "proof" to his article on the sufficiency of the proofs of the Resurrection. He very rightly insists on the distinction between (1) a strict intellectual proof and (2) a sign. Proof, strictly speaking, is intellectual justification by an appeal to intellectual principles. With inimitable terseness, reminding us of the Latin of the Corpus Juris Civilis or the Greek of Aristotle, he defines an argument or proof as "Ratio rei dubiæ faciens fidem." On the other hand, a sign or evidence is some sensible phenomenon manifesting a truth or fact; just as smoke is a sign or proof of fire, and the throbbing pulse is a sign or proof of life.

Bearing this distinction in mind, he admits without a moment's hesitation that we cannot have strict intellectual proofs of the Resurrection. But our readers will be best pleased to have the great thinker's own carefully chosen words:—

> Christ did not demonstrate His Resurrection by strict proof.
> For this kind of proof must begin with principles.
> If these were not known to His disciples nothing could be demonstrated; since nothing can be proved from the unknown.
> But if these principles were known they would not transcend human reasoning; and thus they would be of no avail to support faith in the Resurrection; which is beyond human reason.
> Nevertheless Christ did prove His Resurrection by the authority of Holy Writ.

Yet if the Resurrection does not admit of strict proof, it admits of signs. St. Thomas reminds us of the Greek words used by St. Luke, Acts i. 3: "to whom also he showed himself alive after his passion by many proofs [ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις]." He calls particular attention

[1] *Summa Theologica*, 3ª, Qu. 55, Art. 5.

to the use of τεκμηρίοις, which in his mind is a "signum evidens ad probandum." He might have added that, coming from the pen of Luke, "the most dear physician," it had almost the accuracy of a medical diagnosis. Indeed the word was used by the Greek medical profession in the technical sense of "symptom." It is interesting to find, here and elsewhere, that St. Thomas knows the Greek text and can draw an argument from the shades of meaning of a Greek word.

We will set down Article VI. in scheme :—

CHRIST PROVED HIS RESURRECTION.

A. BY THE WITNESS—
  1. Of angels (Mt. xxviii. 6; Mk. xvi. 6; Lk. xxiv. 5; Jn. xx. 13).
  2. Of Holy Writ (Lk. xxiv. 27).

B. BY SIGNS (τεκμηρίοις)—
  1. Showing a true Resurrection—
    a. Of His Body.
      α. Not a phantom body (Lk. xxiv. 39).
      β. A real visible body (*passim*).
      γ. The same body (Lk. xxiv. 39).
    b. Of His Soul.
      α. Vegetative life, by eating (Lk. xxiv. 43; Acts i. 4).
      β. Sensitive life, by hearing and seeing (*passim*).
      γ. Intellectual life, by arguing (Lk. xxiv. 27).
    c. Of His Divinity.
      α. Miracles; the draught of fishes (Jn. xxi. 6).
      β. Ascension (Acts i. 9).
  2. Showing a Resurrection in Glory—
    a. He enters room through closed doors (Jn. xx. 19).
    b. He appears and vanishes at will (Lk. xxiv. 31).

This is but the barest outline of the proofs and signs that Jesus Christ rose from the dead with the same body that had been nailed to the Cross three days before. It will readily be admitted that the

historical arguments of the Evangelists for the Resurrection have rarely been marshalled with equal skill or insight. Indeed, on examining these arguments in the series drawn up by this thirteenth-century theologian, it would almost seem to a believer in Jesus Christ that although apparently disconnected they had been really planned, not by the four writers themselves, but by some fifth intelligence who had set himself the task of proving a historical thesis. Had the proofs been drawn up from one gospeller alone, we might reasonably have inferred that he had had a purpose in his narrative. Unity of effect would have demanded unity of design. But the unity of effect is found, not, as we might have expected, in an individual writer, but in a group of writers each of whom seems to have been acquainted, roughly speaking, with the work of his predecessors. Their unity is therefore something more than an "Undesigned Coincidence." It is an "Undesigned Completion."

Under stress of the arguments directed, one by one, against the various proofs of the Resurrection it is customary to reply that these proofs are converging, and hence that they cannot be taken one by one. Their addition increases the strength not merely in arithmetical but in geometrical progression. Sometimes we are tempted to think that this way of looking at the matter is a modern expedient framed to meet a phase of modern criticism. It is refreshing to find a theologian of the thirteenth century admitting to the Manicheans and Moors of his day that "although each individual proof would not be strong enough to show the Resurrection of Christ, yet all taken together would be strong enough to do so."

And it is no small gain to realize, from the scholarly scheme of St. Thomas, that the chief evidence of the Resurrection from death to life has come to us from the physician Luke, whose profession entitled him to speak on life and death.

C

From the same pen that wrote these two characteristic examples of deep and accurate thinking has come the liturgical masterpiece of the Office of Corpus Christi. So perfect is the craftsmanship of this office that the revisers of the Roman Breviary singled it out for the unique honour of being untouched. Yet so "homely and courteous," to use a medieval phrase, is the devotion of the hymns that throughout the world they are used to express the emotions of the Catholic flock at Benediction. The "Adoro Te devote," although not a liturgical hymn, is nowise inferior to the Pange Lingua (which contains the Tantum ergo), the Sacris Solemniis, the Lauda Sion, and the Verbum Supernum (which contains the O Salutaris Hostia). Although conscious that no English translation can keep the finish of the original, we add a translation of the Verbum Supernum due to the pen of J. D. Aylward, O.P. :—

Proceeding forth, the Word Supernal,
Nor leaving yet the Father's side,
Bent on His task of love eternal
Now reached His life's sad even-tide.

But ere the traitor friend had sold Him
To envious hands and deathful strife,
He bade His chosen twelve behold Him,
The food of their immortal life.

Concealed beneath the twofold token
He gave His flesh, He gave His Blood,
And thus in Him, whole and unbroken,
Man's twofold nature finds its food.

Our FELLOW in the manger lying,
Our FOOD within the banquet room,
Our RANSOM in His hour of dying,
Our PRIZE in His own kingly home.[1]

[1] Bentley has chosen these four titles as the scheme of decoration for the four cupolas of Westminster Cathedral.

O victim of the world's salvation,
That wide the gates of heaven hast thrown,
The foe brings war and desolation:
Give timely aid and guard Thine own.

To Thee in triune Godhead dwelling
Be glory everlasting given;
Be ours the joys, the bliss unfailing,
That crown our endless life in heaven.

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[1] Reprinted from *The Expository Times*, April 1907.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT[1]

By the Very Rev. Mgr. C. J. Cronin, D.D.

Introduction

Our Lord Jesus Christ, in His discourse to the disciples after the Last Supper, prophesied that His Church would ever be in conflict with the world. A few short periods of comparative calm there have been, but the life of the Church has on the whole been one of storm and stress; and it is one of the greatest consolations of her faithful children in the times of her trial that her enemies are, by the very fact of their attacks upon her, unwittingly fulfilling the prediction of her Divine Founder, and demonstrating her own truth and indefectibility. One of the most momentous crises in the history of the Church was that which, humanly speaking, threatened her very life in the sixteenth century, when whole nations revolted from her authority, rejected her teaching, and set up for themselves forms of religious profession, varying indeed considerably in their details, according as their originator and locality differed, but agreeing in the main in their principles, fundamental tenets, and general characteristics, and conveniently described

[1] This series is not intended to be controversial and argumentative, but narrative and explanatory. It is, however, difficult, when dealing with such a subject as the Council of Trent, which necessarily involves a consideration of the doctrinal differences between the Catholic Church and Protestantism in the sixteenth century, to exclude at least an appearance of controversy. But I have tried to avoid both the appearance and the reality, as far as is compatible with the duty and necessity of writing from a Catholic point of view. Compare throughout Lect. xxvii., *The Thirty-nine Articles*; and xxviii., *Lutheranism*.

by the comprehensive term "Protestantism." This was the greatest attack made on the Church since the heresy of Arius arose in the beginning of the fourth century. The heresies of the early Christian centuries were directed mainly against the Christian doctrines concerning the nature of God, the Blessed Trinity, and the relations of God with man in the Incarnation (and consequently in the redemption); but it was a logical and inevitable consequence that the principles of the Christian life, by which the merits of the redemption are applied to the souls of men, should be also assailed, as they were in the great Pelagian heresy in the fifth century. In reverse order, the Protestant Reformation was a direct attack on the Christian life in its principles and practice—the Word of God, grace and free will, the Sacraments and the authority of the Church, the divinely-appointed guardian and dispenser of them all; and these errors naturally prepared the way for the denial of all supernatural intercourse between God and man, and of the most fundamental truths of the Christian faith, and even of theistic belief.

The Principles of Protestantism

In order to follow intelligently the work of the Council of Trent it will be necessary to examine the fundamental doctrines of the Protestant Reformers in greater detail. As has been already said, they did not agree upon one consistent body of doctrine, but invented a variety of systems, which differed in many important points from one another. Thus there were formed the three great Protestant bodies, the Lutheran, the Calvinist, and the Anglican, and other smaller sects. It is obviously impossible to make a thorough examination of the teaching of each of these bodies, nor is such a course necessary. It will be sufficient to indicate the principles and the most important conclusions wherein they departed from the teaching

of the Catholic Church. Had not the principle of private judgement and the rejection of the teaching authority of the Church been asserted more boldly and more explicitly by the Reformers than by earlier heretics, we might have been dispensed from special reference even to these most fundamental doctrinal differences, for they are common to all heresies. Indeed, "heresy" is a Greek word, the essential note of whose meaning is "choice" or "election," whence, in its special application to religious belief, it signifies precisely "private judgement" as opposed to the teaching authority of the Church. The Reformers' claim to the right of private judgement, therefore, is not at all peculiar to themselves. And just as every heresy implies a rejection of the Church's teaching authority, so every exercise of her doctrinal *magisterium* on the part of the Church is an assertion of that authority; so that it is quite unnecessary for the Church to reaffirm solemnly her claim to be the divinely constituted teacher of mankind every time that claim is denied. But since the Reformers, having declared the Bible to be the sole source of revelation and rule of faith, insisted most emphatically on the right of private judgement in its interpretation, the Council of Trent was compelled to condemn this claim explicitly, and to reaffirm the authority of the Church as the proximate rule of faith.

The principles of the Reformation may be traced back to John Wickliffe (A.D. 1324–1384).[1] This heresiarch was a confessed pantheist, who taught that "All nature is God; every being is God": and creatures are but an emanation from the Divinity. Hence everything takes place by virtue of a law of necessity, and both God and creatures

[1] If space permitted we might go much further back; for the Predestinarians of the fifth, Gottschalk, a monk of the ninth, and the Waldensians of the twelfth and subsequent centuries, may all be justly regarded as forerunners of the Reformers of the sixteenth century.

are absolutely and completely governed by this law. Absolute, unqualified and necessary predestination is a direct inference from this principle; God is not free in election, man is not free in working out his destiny. The sacred Scriptures are the only source of revelation and the only rule of faith, and are to be interpreted by private judgement. He denied transubstantiation and the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist, the divine institution of the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Sacrament of Penance, the Primacy of the Pope, the Episcopacy. He asserted that no act of authority or administration, whether civil, ecclesiastical or sacramental, is valid if performed by a person who is in a state of mortal sin.

The doctrines of Wickliffe were introduced into Bohemia, and embraced and propagated by John Huss and his disciples, of whom the chief was Jerome of Prague. The latter ardently advocated them not only in Bohemia and Moravia, but also in the universities of Heidelberg, Paris, and other cities. It is therefore not surprising that the doctrines of Wickliffe and Huss can be very clearly traced in the teaching of the Reformers. Indeed, it is recorded of Luther that in his disputation with Dr John Eck in the Castle of Pleissenburg at Leipzig, "the opinions advanced and advocated by him so nearly resembled the Hussite propositions branded as heretical by the Council of Constance, that the Duke of Saxony, startled by their boldness, hastily put an end to the discussion, remarking, 'Here, indeed, is a fruitful source of danger'" (Alzog, *Universal Church History*, iii. 196).

(a) *The Scriptures.*[1] — The Reformers, then, unanimously rejected unwritten doctrinal tradition as a source of divine revelation, and maintained that the word of God was contained in the Bible only, which was to be interpreted, not according to the authority

[1] It should be noted that any modifications of Lutheran or Calvinistic teaching made subsequently to the Council of Trent do not enter into our purview.

of the Church,[1] but according to the private judgement of each, assisted by the direct inward illumination of the Holy Ghost. "Each one is certain what to believe and follow, and is the freest judge of all who teach him, for he is inwardly instructed by God only" (Luther, *De Inst. Ministr. Eccles.*). They excluded from the canon of Scripture the deutero-canonical books of the Old Testament, *i.e.* those books whose divine origin and inspiration were at one time doubted or called in question by some, but which were finally recognized by the whole Church to be books which had been delivered by the Apostles to the churches they founded, as sacred, canonical, and inspired. These books are: Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, and the first and second books of Machabees; also parts of Esther and Daniel. Of the books of the New Testament, Luther rejected the Epistle to the Hebrews, those of St. James and St. Jude, and the Apocalypse. The other Reformers accepted all the books of the New Testament, and the later Lutherans fell into line with them.[2]

(b) *Original Sin, Grace, and Justification.*—With respect to the original justice or sanctity of our first parents, and to original sin and its consequences, both Luther and Calvin held that original justice, consisting of certain high and noble gifts with which the souls of Adam and Eve were endowed, was natural and essential to human nature, so that by the fall, in which original justice was lost, human nature was essentially corrupted, and deprived of certain natural powers due to it, the soul thus being made imperfect and incomplete, wanting in something that belonged to its natural integrity. Luther asserted that man never had free will, Calvin that he lost it by the fall; but both maintained that the fall was due

[1] Contrast *Augustine*, Lect. xx. p. 15.

[2] The Anglican version excludes the deutero-canonical parts of the Old Testament, but receives those of the New. See Art. VI. of the Articles of Religion. *Cf.* Lect. xxvii. 10–12, and xviii. p. 3, n. 2.

to an irresistible divine necessity and predestination, and that through it the very image of God was effaced from the human soul. In their eyes original sin was a *substantial* and *positive* evil implanted in the nature of man. "It is the nature of man to sin; sin constitutes the essence of man; the nature of man, since his fall, has become quite changed; original sin is that very thing which is born of father and mother" (*cf.* Moehler's *Symbolism*, p. 62). Hence Flacius was only pursuing the doctrine to its logical conclusion when he asserted that original sin was the very substance of fallen man. This, however, was too much for the great majority of Protestants; who, holding a more moderate view, placed the essence of original sin in concupiscence — that inclination or proneness to sin which is a consequence of the fall of Adam. It is thus defined by Calvin (*Instit.*, i. 2, c. 1, n. 8): "The hereditary depravity and corruption of our nature, which first made us worthy of God's wrath, and also produces in us works which Scripture calls works of the flesh. And it is precisely this that is so often called *sin* by St. Paul." Original sin being an essential corruption of the nature, and therefore as irremovable as the nature itself, it follows that baptism has no efficacy to cleanse the soul from it; and indeed that there is no such thing as a real inward sanctification of the soul. Justification, according to the Reformers, consists in this: that God no longer imputes the guilt of sin to the justified man, though the sin itself really remains and cannot be removed. The sinner is delivered from the punishments of sin, but not from sin itself, which still actually stains the soul, though cloaked, or covered, or not observed by God. And since man acts, not by free will, but under an all-ruling and absolute divine necessity, there can be no question of merit. Good works, therefore, can have no relation to grace and salvation. Even in the believer every so-called good work is in itself a mortal sin, though it is not imputed to him because of his

faith; or, according to Luther, it becomes by the mercy of God only a venial sin; but every action of the sinner and the unbeliever is a mortal sin; and the observance of the divine precepts, even by the just, was pronounced an impossibility.

Justification and salvation were made to depend only on faith, which was defined to be a confidence in the mercy and goodness of God, and an absolute conviction and certain assurance of the pardon of sins and of future salvation through the merits of Christ. Luther denied the active co-operation of man with God in the work of regeneration: man is quite passive in the hands of God, who alone acts. Calvin, on the contrary, admitted active co-operation, but denied its freedom, maintaining that the action of God worked irresistibly and invincibly on the soul.

These tenets have a necessary logical connection with the doctrine of absolute and unqualified predestination. The Lutherans, indeed, soon emancipated themselves from this; but Calvin sternly maintained it in all its awfulness: "We call predestination the eternal decree of God, by which He determined what He willed to be done with every man. For all are not created in a like condition, but to some is preordained eternal life, to others eternal damnation. Hence, according as each one is created for one or the other end, we say that he is predestined to life or to death. . . . But those whom He devotes to damnation are by a just and blameless but incomprehensible judgement shut off from all access to life" (*op. cit.*, i. 3., c. 2., nn. 5, 7).[1] The reprobate, therefore, can have no real faith, no justification; Christ did not die for them (Lect. xxvii. p. 17).[2]

(c) *The Sacraments.*—This is, in brief, the teaching of the Reformers about sin and justification; and from it there followed logically the rejection of the

[1] The 7th Article of Religion of the Anglican Communion teaches a modified form of Calvinism.

[2] Lect. xx. p. 22; *cf. infra*, p. 10.

Sacraments as means and causes of grace. Their number was reduced to two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and these are only pledges of the divine promises for the remission of sins, and means of confirming faith in this remission. But Calvin restricted the efficacy of the Sacraments to the elect: for all others they were mere outward signs. All unanimously denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, and most rejected the real, corporeal presence of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, the believer only, or, according to Calvin, only the elect, receiving the body of Christ "after a heavenly and spiritual manner" by means of faith (see Art. XXVIII., Anglican Articles of Religion). Luther, who, though he rejected transubstantiation, strongly defended the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist, successively excogitated other ways of explaining it, first by consubstantiation or impanation, and then by assigning the attribute of ubiquity to the body of Christ. Communion under both kinds was claimed for the laity. The sacrifice of the Mass was universally rejected, and with it the Christian priesthood. Every Christian, they said, was a priest and teacher. Hence there was no need for a hierarchy; in fact, the Church itself was invisible. (The Anglicans retained the hierarchical form of the Church, but attached other meanings to the terms "bishop" and "priest," and altered the rites of ordination.) The Papal Supremacy was, of course, utterly repudiated.[1]

(d) *The Communion of Saints.*—Another Catholic doctrine rejected by the Reformers was that of the communion of saints. The principle of salvation by faith alone required that the believer should be admitted to heaven without delay or condition. Purgatory, therefore, could not be.[2] Consequently in-

[1] Lect. xxvii. p. 24.

[2] Similarly, since faith remitted all the punishment of sin, there was no place in the theology of the Reformers for the doctrine of indulgences.

tercession for the dead was reprobated. Finally, the invocation of the saints was not permitted for two reasons: 1, because Christ is the one and only Mediator; 2, because the saints in heaven do not know what passes on earth, and take no interest in our affairs.

Comparison of Protestantism with Pelagianism

The doctrines of Protestantism naturally invite comparison with those of Pelagianism. Pelagius held—

(1) That Adam was created without any supernatural gifts of sanctity and righteousness, and was from the beginning subject to ignorance, concupiscence, and death. The Reformers, on the contrary, taught that Adam was endowed with certain perfections, which amounted at least to the gifts of integrity[1] and immortality, but regarded them as natural.

(2) Pelagius consequently denied original sin; posterity received no injury from the fall (except in so far as they may have taken scandal at Adam's sin, and followed his bad example by committing actual sins themselves), but are born into the world in the same state as Adam was created, viz. without grace and without sin. Protestantism maintains the essential corruption of the human nature by the fall.

(3) Hence baptism does not remit sin, according to Pelagius because there is none to remit: according to the Reformers because sin is too deeply rooted in the soul to be eradicated.

(4) Pelagius not only taught the freedom of the will, but asserted its absolute sufficiency for the attainment of the destined end of man: the Reformers denied the freedom of the will, at least after the fall.

(5) Pelagius denied the necessity of grace, whether actual or habitual: the Protestants denied not so much the necessity of grace, as its ability to effect a real inward change of soul; hence they reduced habitual grace to a mere external imputation of the merits of Christ through faith; and as regards actual grace, they taught that man had lost the power of doing any good action of the moral order, or of overcoming the slightest temptation without its aid; that his works were of themselves intrinsically evil, and could be regarded as good only by the

[1] For the theological meaning of "integrity," see section "Original Sin," p. 18.

external imputation of the merits of Christ. Pelagianism, therefore, and Protestantism are the two opposite extremes of doctrine in the theology of the relations of man with God. The Catholic Church in this, as in so many other cases,[1] pursues a course midway between the two extremes, and is to Pelagianism and Protestantism as is the Equator to the North and South Poles.[2]

The Council of Trent

The doctrines of the Reformers spread rapidly, especially among the Teutonic nations; and it became a matter of the gravest importance, in order to preserve the purity of the faith and to defend it against its latest assailants, that those doctrines of the Catholic Church which had now become the special object of attack should be defined with precision and solemnity. Another danger, too, threatened the Church. Many abuses had arisen in the course of time, and it was necessary for the Church to put her hand to the work of a thorough reform, and to establish a new canonical jurisprudence adapted to the needs of the age. Pope Paul III. (1534–1549) therefore determined to summon a General Council.

After many difficulties and delays, the Council was opened at Trent on 13th December 1545. It was prorogued several times, and it remained suspended for ten years (1552–62); so that it was not till 3rd and 4th December 1563 that the last session was held and the bishops dismissed. On 26th January 1564 Pope Pius IV., by the bull *Benedictus Deus*, confirmed the Council.

The work of defining the faith and of reforming discipline proceeded side by side.[3] In the dogmatic

[1] *E.g.*, in the theology of the Incarnation: for Nestorius taught two Persons and two Natures in Christ; Eutyches, one Person and one Nature; the Catholic Faith proclaims the One Divine Person of God the Son, subsisting in the two Natures of God and man. *Cf.* Lect. xix. p. 6.

[2] *Cf.* Lect. xx. pp. 22–25.

[3] The sessions in which dogmatic and disciplinary decrees were passed were the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 13th, 14th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, and 25th. To these may be added the 18th, in which a Committee

decrees, with which we are now principally concerned, the Catholic faith is usually first stated in a positive form (the *Capitula*), and then the contrary errors are condemned in brief and precise terms (the *Canons*).[1]

In our exposition of the faith of the Council of Trent we cannot do better than follow the order which the Council marked out for itself in framing the dogmatic decrees. This order is as follows:—(1) The Canonical Scriptures (sess. 4); (2) Original Sin (sess. 5); (3) Justification (sess. 6); (4) the Sacraments in general, Baptism and Confirmation (sess. 7); (5) the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist (sess. 13); and Communion under both kinds, and the Communion of children (sess. 21);[2] (6) the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme

was appointed to consider the question of an Index of prohibited books. This Committee reported in the 25th session.

[1] The *Capitula* and the Canons are of equal dogmatic authority. The Capitula are not to be regarded merely as commentaries of the highest authority on the Canons. They are strictly exercises of the Church's infallibility, and are *definitions*. This does not mean that *everything* contained in the *Capitula* is *infallibly* true. The reasons and arguments used to demonstrate the doctrine, and further conclusions and consequences inferred from it, matters which are introduced by way of explanatory addition, and all *obiter dicta*, do not fall within the scope of the prerogative of infallibility. But the direct positive statements of doctrine, the direct objects of conciliar teaching, are certainly dogmatic and infallible definitions. This follows immediately from the principle that the Church is the divinely appointed infallible teacher of revealed truth; for the affirmation of truth is a more direct exercise of that office than is the condemnation of error. The former is positive teaching, the latter negative. That this was the mind of the Council of Trent itself is clear from the words with which the sixteen *Capitula* of the sixth session are concluded:—"After this Catholic doctrine on justification, which if anyone does not faithfully and firmly accept, he cannot be justified, it has seemed good to the holy Synod to subjoin the following canons, so that all may know not only what they have to hold and follow, but also what to avoid and shun." Similar expressions are appended to the *Capitula* of the 13th, 14th, 22nd and 23rd sessions. Take the 14th session as another example:—"This is what this ecumenical Synod professes and teaches, and proposes to all the faithful to be believed and held, concerning the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction." Nothing could be more explicit.

[2] This is the natural place for these two subjects; and it had been the intention of the Council to treat them here. Indeed they had already been discussed; but the publication of the decrees was postponed at the request of the Protestants, who had asked to be heard

Unction (sess. 14); (7) the Sacrifice of the Mass (sess. 22); (8) the Sacrament of Order (sess. 23); (9) the Sacrament of Matrimony (sess. 24); (10) Purgatory, the Invocation and Veneration of the Saints; the Relics of the Saints and sacred Images; Indulgences (sess. 25).

I. The Canonical Scriptures (sess. 4).

1. The Council first lays down the principle that the truths of the Gospel of Jesus Christ are contained both "in written books, and in the unwritten traditions which were received by the Apostles from the lips of Christ Himself, or were transmitted, as it were, from hand to hand,[1] by the Apostles themselves from the dictation of the Holy Ghost, and have come down even to us," thus directly contradicting the principle that the Bible is the only source of revealed truth.

2. The Canon of Scripture is then solemnly promulgated. This canon, which contains all the deutero-canonical books rejected by the Protestants, was no new compilation of the Council. It is exactly the same (with the exception of the explicit mention of the prophecy of Baruch, which used to be appended to the Lamentations of Jeremias) as the Canon of Pope Damasus (366–384), which was sent by Pope Innocent I. to St. Exuperius, Bishop of Toulouse, in 405,[2] was republished by Pope Gelasius (492–496), and again by Pope Hormisdas (514–523), was inserted by Gratian in the Decretals, and was published once more by Pope Eugenius IV. in the Council of Florence (1439–1445). The Council of Trent now repeats the canon, with the additional explanation that it "receives and venerates with a like sentiment of piety and reverence all the books of the Old and New Testaments, for the one God is the author of both;

before the final decision was taken; but they never appeared at the Council. Cf. *Decree for the Prorogation of the Definition of Four Articles*, at the end of sess. 13.

[1] "Quasi per manus traditæ."

[2] *Cf.* Lect. xviii. p. 3; xxvii. p. 10.

and also the traditions relating to faith and to morals, as having been dictated either orally by Christ, or by the Holy Ghost, and preserved by an unbroken succession in the Catholic Church." To all the books, then, of the Bible, the deutero-canonical just the same as the proto-canonical, is attributed an equal authority based on an equal inspiration. All, therefore, are anathematized who refuse to receive these books in their entirety and with all their parts, as they have been wont to be read in the Catholic Church and are found in the old Latin Vulgate edition, as sacred and canonical;[1] or who knowingly and wilfully hold the aforesaid traditions in contempt.

3. Authenticity is, in common language, trustworthiness. The authenticity of a book or document is its claim on our acceptance because it is trustworthy. If it is an original document, it is trustworthy and therefore authentic, in so far as its author knows the truth and writes it according to his knowledge. If it is a version or translation, its authenticity consists in its fidelity to the original. This we may call the *intrinsic* authenticity of a document. But it is not sufficient for a document to *be* trustworthy. We must *know* it to be such. Before we can accept the statements of a writer, we must have assurance of his

[1] The Vatican Council (sess. 3, c. 2) renews the Tridentine decree, and explains the terms "sacred and canonical":—"This supernatural revelation, according to the faith of the universal Church declared by the Holy Council of Trent, is contained in written books, and the unwritten traditions which were received by the Apostles from the lips of Christ Himself, or were transmitted, as it were from hand to hand, by the Apostles themselves from the dictation of the Holy Ghost, and have come down even to us. These books of the Old and New Testaments, in their entirety with all their parts, as they are enumerated in the decree of the said Council, and are contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition, are to be received as sacred and canonical. And the Church regardeth them as sacred and canonical, not because, after having been composed only by the labour of men, they have received her authoritative approbation; nor only because they contain revelation without error; but because they have been written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and therefore have God for their author, and have been delivered as such to the Church herself."

credibility, *i.e.* of his knowledge of the subject, and his veracity. And if we are to accept a version as a trustworthy one, we must *know* it to be a faithful representation of the original. This is the *extrinsic* authenticity of a document: the manifestation of its intrinsic authenticity. The extrinsic authenticity, therefore, necessarily implies the intrinsic.

Now, we may be assured of the trustworthiness of a document in various ways; we may personally have demonstrative evidence of its truth: we may accept the word of another whom we trust; and finally, public, competent authority may certify to the world the trustworthiness of a document. This then has *public* authenticity.

To apply all this to the Scriptures. The original Scriptures are *intrinsically* authentic, for they are inspired by God, who is therefore their author. And they are extrinsically and publicly authentic, because God has revealed both the fact of their inspiration and the Canon of Scripture, and the Church, the public, competent authority, has proposed these dogmas to be believed by all the faithful (see above, n. 2). Moreover, the Church has not declared the authenticity of the Scriptures in an abstract sort of way; but has always taught that those very Scriptures which she had in her keeping and presented to the faithful as the Word of God, were authentic. Hence the Church has always held that the books which were in her possession were a faithful copy of those originally inspired by God. This, too, is contained in the definition of the Canon of Scripture (above, n. 2).

And now, in this paragraph of its decree, the Council of Trent goes a step further, and publicly and solemnly sets the seal of the Church's authority upon one particular edition of the Scriptures. The Council declares the old Latin Vulgate, "out of all the Latin editions of the Bible that are in circulation," to be *the authentic Latin version*, and the one to be used

in public in the Western Church. The Council does not prefer the Vulgate before the original texts or the ancient versions that had always been in ecclesiastical use, nor does it deny the authenticity of any version of the Bible other than the Vulgate. But the other Latin versions, however accurate and therefore intrinsically authentic they may be, and whatever extrinsic authenticity one or other of them may possess through long-established ecclesiastical use, have not the public authenticity that the Vulgate has; for the intrinsic authenticity of the Vulgate is manifested and certified, not only by history and criticism, and by its public use in the Church through many centuries, but also by the public, solemn and infallible declaration of the Church. The Vulgate therefore possesses a public extrinsic authenticity, derived from the authoritative voice of the Church, which no other version can claim. It is *the* authentic version of the Scriptures.

Nevertheless the decree does not imply that the editions of the Vulgate then in use were absolutely free from error and in complete and perfect conformity in every way with the original Scriptures as they proceeded from the pen of their inspired writers. Indeed the Council, in a subsequent paragraph of the same decree, orders the correction of the Vulgate text; a task which was afterwards undertaken by Popes Pius IV.–Sixtus V., and Gregory XIV.–Clement VIII., whence the Sixtine and Clementine editions of the Vulgate; and the present Pope, Pius X., has entrusted the work of the collection of the variant readings of the Vulgate to the Benedictine Order, with a view to a similar revision.

The true sense of the decree is this: that the Vulgate is in *substantial* conformity with the original sacred text in its expression of those truths which are the direct and primary object of the divine revelation, *i.e.* those truths of faith and morals which contribute in any way to the knowledge of God as

man's supernatural end, and of the means of attaining that end; as, for example, truths concerning the Divine Nature, Persons, and attributes; the creation, the elevation of man to the supernatural order, the fall; the precepts, the counsels, the sacraments, and indeed, the whole economy of the kingdom of Christ the Redeemer, from its first preparation immediately after the fall of our first parents, down to its perfect constitution in the Church of the New Testament.[1] The *substantial* accuracy of these truths as expressed in the Vulgate is guaranteed; but the *form* of expression is not warranted to be precisely identical with that of the original, nor is assurance given of the inclusion in the Vulgate of all the dogmatic texts contained in the original books of Scripture; on the other hand, if a dogmatic text is found in the Vulgate, and not in the *original as we have it at present*, or in other *versions*, the text, provided that its constant use in the Church can be proved, is declared authentic. But authenticity is not claimed for the Vulgate in regard to those matters which of their own nature have no relation to the truths of salvation, *e.g.* certain facts of history[2] or geography, truths of nature, etc. These, *as contained in the original Scriptures*, form

[1] "Scripture, the depository of revealed truth, begins with the genesis or origin of the world, and ends in the apocalypse or revelation of eternity; and it includes within these two extremes the whole of the pilgrimage of the human race to God. The beginning is the word of God bringing forth the universe from nothing (Gen. i.); the end is the word of God recalling man to Himself in the glory of heaven (Apocal. xxi.–xxii.): and all that intervenes is occupied with the inculcation of the principles of morality, and in the presentation, both historical and dogmatic, of the mystery of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is at once the end and the way—the end to be attained, and the way by which it is to be attained." Billot, *De Virtutibus Infusis*, pp. 230–1.

[2] I must not be understood to relegate all historical facts to this category. Many historical events, both of the Old and of the New Testament, would thus be excluded from the primary intention of God in making His revelation, which would be a most grave error. I refer only to such indifferent matters as, *e.g.*, chronological details (as the ages of the early patriarchs at the time of their death), various items of genealogy (as that Malviel begat Mathusael), and such like.

part of the word of God, and are consequently inspired by Him, revealed by Him to men, and infallibly true. But they are in Scripture, not for their own sake and as the primary and direct object of divine revelation, but only by reason of an historical, or logical, or literary connection they may have with the truths of salvation, which it is the primary intention of God to reveal to mankind. There was no special reason why God should interpose, by a special act of His Providence, to prevent copyists' or translators' errors from creeping into the Bible on one or other of these indifferent matters.[1] Hence critics are at liberty to reject, not recklessly, but for good and sound reasons, the Vulgate version in this or that particular, where a dogmatic text is not involved, and to suggest emendations.

4. Finally, the rule of the interpretation of Scripture is enunciated, viz. that "in matters of faith and morals appertaining to the building up of Christian doctrine"—*i.e.* when there is question of those truths which it is the direct intention of God to reveal in Scripture, namely, the truths of salvation and those in direct relation with them (see above, 3)—no one may put upon the Scriptures an interpretation that is in opposition to the sense which the Church, "*whose office it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures*," attributes to them, or that contradicts the unanimous consent of the Fathers. This rule of Trent was explained by the Vatican Council (*ibid.*), and developed in the sense that instead of a negative it was given a positive form. "Since the salutary decree which the holy Council of Trent, with the object of restraining mutinous spirits, made concerning the interpretation of the divine Scriptures, is falsely explained by some men, We, in renewing this decree, declare its meaning to be this: that in matters of faith and morals appertaining to the

[1] Errors of fact on the part of the *inspired writers* must be *absolutely* excluded in reference to *all* matters.

building up of Christian doctrine, that is to be regarded as the true sense of sacred Scripture which Holy Mother Church, whose office it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the holy Scriptures, hath held and doth hold, and therefore none may interpret sacred Scripture in opposition to this sense, and also in opposition to the unanimous consent of the Fathers."

II. Original Sin (sess. 5).

1. Before the fall our first parents possessed original sanctity and righteousness. God had raised them to the supernatural state by endowing their souls with sanctifying grace, and destining them to eternal happiness in the enjoyment of the beatific vision in heaven. Furthermore, He had added certain preternatural gifts, which, though human nature had no claim to them, perfected it in his own order.[1] These gifts were: (a) *Integrity* or *immunity from concupiscence*; by which the lower or sensitive appetites and passions of human nature were placed under the absolute and permanent control of the reason; so that their actions and impulses could not anticipate or resist its direction or in any way rebel against its authority. Hence the natural inclinations were characterized, not by a proneness to evil, but by a disposition to good.

(b) An infused superexcellent *knowledge* of natural things, appropriate to Adam's particular circumstances and condition. This knowledge was accompanied by immunity from error.

(c) *Immortality*, which freed Adam and Eve from

[1] *Supernatural* means *above nature*, transcending the natural exigencies of all created nature; therefore belonging to the *divine* order. Hence it is used especially of the destined end of man, the vision of God face to face, and whatever has relation to it, *e.g.* the means by which it is to be attained. *Preternatural* means *beyond nature* but not *above* it; something that is not due to the nature, but yet does not elevate it above its own sphere: it perfects nature in its own order.

the necessity of death,[1] as long as they fulfilled the conditions prescribed by God.

(d) *Exemption* from the *ills*, *troubles*, and *miseries* of this present life, and an unbroken and surpassing *happiness*. This state of perfection and happiness, both natural and supernatural, in which the parents of the human race were placed by God, is called the state of original justice, which is concisely summed up by St. Thomas Aquinas as the subordination of the body to the soul, of the soul's lower powers to the reason, of the reason to God (*Summa Theol.*, I p., q. 95, a. 1).

The maintenance of this happy state of things entirely depended upon the loyalty of the reason to God. As long as the reason acknowledged its subjection to Him it retained its dominion over soul and body. But as soon as it threw off the sweet yoke of God by sin, all was lost. Sanctifying grace, the preternatural gifts, all were forfeited. Man had fallen from his high estate, had incurred the wrath of God, the punishment of death, and the bondage of Satan. The harmony of the natural powers of the soul was destroyed; the reason lost its absolute control, and the lower appetites gained a large measure of independence and the power of resistance; so that, though the will retained its freedom, its inclination to good was weakened and a propensity to evil was engendered (*cf.* sess. 6, c. 1). The intellect's preternatural and infused knowledge was withdrawn; the body became subject to pain, disease, and death; so that, as the Council says, the whole being of Adam, both body and soul, suffered deterioration.[2]

[1] *I.e.* it did not make death impossible, but kept it from them as long as they were sinless. Man was still mortal by nature, but immortal by this preternatural gift.

[2] The 2nd Council of Orange, held in the year 529 against the Semipelagians, and confirmed by Pope Boniface II., had already taught the same doctrine: "Canon 1.—Should there be anyone who saith that by Adam's sin, the whole being of man, both body and soul, did not suffer deterioration; but believeth that, while the liberty of the

But it should be carefully noted that this deterioration was due, not to the forfeiture of any of the perfections belonging to the nature or essence of man,—in a word, of anything *natural*, but to the withdrawal of the gifts, *supernatural* and *preternatural*, which constituted the state of original justice.

2. The sin of Adam injured not only himself, but his posterity too, for whom, as well as for himself, he lost righteousness and sanctity; and he transmitted to all his descendants not only the pains and death of the body, but also sin, which is the death of the soul.[1]

3. This transmission of Adam's sin, which is one in its origin, does not consist merely in this, that the children of Adam *imitate* their father's fall by committing actual sin themselves. Original sin is *propagated* in each one of Adam's descendants through natural generation, so that it is really and truly inborn in each and every one, and not merely imputed externally. Nor can it be removed by any natural means, but only by the merits of Christ, which are applied both to adults and to infants by means of the sacrament of baptism.[2]

4. Not only are newly-born children, even those of baptized parents, baptized unto the remission of sins, but also they do really contract from Adam original sin, which must be cleansed by the laver of regenera-

soul remained unimpaired, the body only became subject to corruption, he is deceived by the error of Pelagius, and contradicts Scripture, Ezec. xviii. 20; Rom. vi. 16; 2 Pet. ii. 19" (Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, n. 122; *cf.* can. 25).

[1] Again the Council of Orange defined: "Canon 2.—Should anyone assert that Adam's sin injured himself alone, and not his posterity too; or maintain that only the death of the body, which is the punishment of sin, and not also sin itself, which is the death of the soul, was by one man transmitted to the whole human race, he doth an injury to God, and contradicts the Apostle, Rom. v. 12" (*ibid.*, n. 123).

[2] This doctrine is substantially contained in the Epistle of Pope Celestine I., written in the year 431 to the Bishops of France (*ibid.*, n. 76).

tion, if they are to be saved. Hence in them the form of baptism is truly unto the remission of sins. Consequently, according to Apostolic tradition, even infants, who are incapable of actual sin, are truly baptized unto the remission of sins, in order that they may be cleansed by regeneration from that which they have contracted through generation.[1]

5. The guilt of original sin, then, is remitted through the grace of Jesus Christ, which is bestowed in baptism; and by this is meant not merely that sin is cloaked or hidden or regarded as not imputed, but that all sin properly so called is *taken away* or *destroyed*. Concupiscence, however, or the propensity to sin, remains after baptism. But this is left as a trial or test of valour in the combat, and so cannot harm those who withhold their consent to its allurements and resist; nay, it is to those who strive loyally the means of earning their crown. This concupiscence is sometimes called "sin" by St. Paul; not, however, in the strict sense of the term, but because it is the effect of sin, and is an inclination to sin.

Finally, the Council declares that it does not intend to include in this decree the blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary, Mother of God. This was a most important step in the development of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, a development which culminated in the solemn definition of the doctrine as an article of faith by Pope Pius IX., 8th December 1854. The Pontiff, in his Bull of definition *Ineffabilis Deus*, thus comments on this saving clause of Trent: "By this declaration the Fathers of Trent sufficiently, considering the times and circumstances, intimated that the most blessed Virgin was free from original sin; and indeed clearly signified that nothing could

[1] This is an almost verbal repetition of the 2nd Canon of the Plenary Council of Carthage, held in 418, and approved by Pope Zosimus in his famous Epistle "Tractoria," which was addressed to the bishops of the whole world, and which all were required to subscribe under pain of deposition (Denzinger, n. 54).

be legitimately adduced either from Scripture or from Tradition and the Fathers to gainsay in any way this great prerogative of our Lady."

III. Justification (sess. 6).[1]

Fallen man was absolutely incapable of restoring himself to the supernatural state of holiness and friendship with God, which he had lost by sin.[2]

God therefore sent His Son, Jesus Christ, to redeem mankind by the shedding of His precious Blood for the sins of the world. But although Christ died for all, only those share in the fruits of His passion to whom its merits are applied by regeneration, in which they receive His justifying grace (chaps. 1–3; canons 1, 2).

Justification, therefore, may be described as "the transference of man from the state in which he is born as the son of the first Adam, to the state of grace and adoption of the sons of God through the second Adam, Jesus Christ, our Saviour." This is effected by means of the sacrament of baptism received in deed or at least in desire (c. 4).

The first motion of the sinner towards justification is the work of God, who by His awakening and helping grace calls, moves, and aids the will to co-operate with divine grace by its consent, which it is free to withhold. Man, therefore, is not a mere automaton in the hands of God, but must actively unite with Him in

[1] The Council's teaching on the necessity of grace does not differ from that of the Plenary Council of Carthage (A.D. 418), the Epistle of Pope Celestine I. (A.D. 431), and the Second Council of Orange (A.D. 529), against the Pelagians and the Semipelagians. Detailed references to these ancient authorities are therefore unnecessary.

[2] Man retained free will after the fall. The actions of the sinner are not necessarily evil and sinful; still less are the efforts of the sinner to dispose himself for grace, to be accounted sins. And the Council anathematizes the shocking blasphemy of Melanchthon (Com. on Ep. to the Romans), that God is the real responsible author of the evil deeds of sinners, and that the treason of Judas was as much God's work as was the calling of St. Paul (canons 5–7).

the work of justification. God begins and continues the work by His grace, which moves and assists the soul to *believe* what God has revealed, and especially that He justifies the sinner by grace through the merits of Christ, to elicit acts of holy *fear* and *hope*, to begin to *love* God as the fount of all justice, to *be sorry* for sin, and to *resolve* to be baptized and to begin a new life in the observance of the divine precepts. This is the preparation of the soul for justification (cc. 5, 6; canons 3, 4, 8, 9).

The work of preparation is crowned by the actual justification, which consists, not in the imputation of the merits or righteousness of Christ, nor only in the remission of sins, but also in the sanctification and renewal of the inward man by the receipt of the gifts of habitual grace and the virtues of faith, hope, and charity, which are infused into the soul by God through the merits of Christ and the instrumentality of the sacrament of baptism. These gifts are present permanently in the soul, and inhere in it until destroyed by sin.[1] Faith alone is not sufficient for justification; without hope and charity it is profitless and dead. Faith, therefore, is said to justify (Rom. iii.), inasmuch as it is the indispensable beginning, basis, and root of sanctification and salvation. But justifying faith is not a confidence or assurance of the forgiveness of sins through the merits of Christ; nor does justification itself consist in this. We have not the certainty of faith that we are in a state of grace; for while we must have confidence in God's mercy, the merits of Christ and the efficacy of the sacraments, we have reason to mistrust our own weakness and the imperfection of our dispositions (cc. 7–9; canons 9–14).

Sanctifying grace may be increased in the soul by good works, and by the observance of the divine

[1] Hence the grace of justification is rightly called *ours*, because it is something real, actual, and positive within us, perfecting the soul to sanctification; and it is also *God's*, inasmuch as it is His gift to us, having been infused by Him into the soul through the merits of Christ.

precepts, which is not only possible by divine grace, but obligatory upon all the just under pain of sin and the loss of justification. Hence a man once justified can fall again by mortal sin; and he cannot avoid all venial sins throughout his life without a special privilege, such as was granted to the Blessed Virgin. It is heretical to say, with Luther, that every good work of the just man is in itself a mortal sin, but that God in His mercy regards it as only venial, and does not impute it to him unto damnation. Nor does the motive of eternal reward vitiate the good works of the just and make them sinful; just as the sorrow of the sinner from the motive of the fear of the divine punishments is not only no sin, but good, praiseworthy and beneficial (cc 10, 11; canons 8, 18–20, 23–25, 31).

No one, even though in a state of grace, has certain knowledge of his predestination to eternal life, or of his final perseverance, unless this has been specially revealed to him by God. The just man cannot persevere without God's special help; but he *can* do so, by firmly placing his confidence in the divine assistance, which is given to him. The grace of justification is given, not to the elect only, but to others also; nor has God predestined anyone to damnation (cc. 12, 13; canons 15–17, 22).

The just man can fall from grace, and this not only by the sin of infidelity, but also by any other grievous offence against God. But if he fall, there is a remedy at hand, the Sacrament of Penance, through whose instrumentality the sins committed after baptism are forgiven and the state of justification is regained, on condition of true sorrow for sin and purpose of amendment, sacramental confession and absolution (at least in desire if the actuality be impossible), and satisfaction for the temporal punishment which (otherwise than in baptism, *cf.* Council of Florence, Denzinger, n. 591) often remains due to sin after the guilt and eternal punishment have been remitted. Though

grace and justification are lost by every mortal sin, faith is not forfeited except by a sin directly contrary to that virtue, viz. heresy or infidelity. Those who have faith without charity are yet to be regarded as Christians (cc. 14, 15; canons 27–30).

Finally, the just by their good works, through the grace of God and the merits of Christ, earn an increase of grace in this life, and, if they persevere to the end, an eternal reward in heaven—that "crown of justice, which the Lord the just judge will render to me in that day; and not only to me, but to them also that love his coming" (2 Tim. iv. 8): "for that which is at present momentary and light of our tribulation" (*i.e.* the light and transitory afflictions of this life) "worketh for us above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory" (2 Cor. iv. 17).

IV. The Sacraments[1] in General; Baptism and Confirmation (sess. 7).

1. *The Sacraments in General.*—As the means by which the grace of justification is first bestowed, increased, and restored after being lost by sin, our Lord Jesus Christ instituted the *seven* Sacraments of the New Law, differing from those of the Old Law, not only in their external rites and ceremonies, but also in their efficacy. This efficacy is derived, not from the faith or merits of the minister or recipient (*ex opere operantis*), but from the fact that these outward signs are the divinely instituted instruments by means of which God, the principal agent, confers grace through the merits of Christ (*ex opere operato*, *i.e.* acts or deeds done in regard to the recipient by Christ (as man), the chief minister, and God, the principal agent). The sacraments therefore do not merely excite the faith or devotion of the recipient, but are real instrumental causes of grace, and do effectively

[1] On the Sacraments *cf.* Council of Florence, Decree for the Armenians.

and infallibly produce it in the soul properly disposed to receive it.[1]

The sacraments are not optional, but *necessary* means of grace, though they are not all of equal necessity, nor of equal dignity; nor is everyone bound to receive them *all*. They must be administered by a duly appointed minister, on whose part nothing more is required for the validity of the sacrament than the use of the essential rite instituted by Christ, with the intention at least of doing what the Church does.

Three sacraments, Baptism, Confirmation, and Order, imprint a character or indelible spiritual seal on the soul, dedicating it in an especial manner to God's service in the Church. These sacraments may not be repeated.

2. *The Sacrament of Baptism* (*cf.* above on *Justification*).—The sacrament of baptism, an essential element of which is real, natural water (though the sacrament differs essentially from the baptism of John the Baptist), is necessary for salvation. Baptism properly administered by heretics is valid. Infants must be baptized, and are thereby enrolled among the faithful. They may not be rebaptized when they reach the years of discretion, nor are they then at liberty to repudiate the obligations of the Christian life.

3. *The Sacrament of Confirmation.*—Confirmation is not a mere empty ceremony, nor did it originate in a catechetical examination to which Christian youth was wont to be subjected to test its proficiency in religious knowledge; but it is a true sacrament in the strict sense of the term. Its ordinary minister is a bishop only.

[1] These spiritual dispositions are necessary in the recipient, not to cause or merit the grace, but to remove the impediments to its entrance into the soul; *e.g.*, infidelity and attachment to sin. They are therefore *conditions*, not *causes*, of the sacramental grace, just as the opening of the door is a necessary *condition* to one's entrance into a room, but not the *cause* of the entrance.

V. The Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist (sess. 13).[1]

Our Lord Jesus Christ at the Last Supper, desiring to bequeath to men a memorial of His Passion, a sovereign remedy and protection against sin, the most efficacious means of grace, the spiritual food and life of the soul, the symbol and bond of unity and charity, and a pledge of eternal glory, instituted the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. In virtue of the power then given to the Apostles, when the priest in the Mass pronounces the words of consecration over the bread and wine, "all the substance of the bread is converted into the substance of the body of Christ, and all the substance of the wine into the substance of His blood," the appearances or accidents only of the bread and wine remaining. This unique and miraculous conversion is most appropriately and accurately called *Transubstantiation*. Wherefore, by virtue of the words of consecration, the Body of Christ is truly, really, substantially, objectively, present under the accidents of the bread, and His Blood under the accidents of the wine, quite independently of the *use* of the sacrament, or the faith of the recipient. And since the real separation of the Body and Blood of Christ, and of His Humanity and Divinity, is impossible, it follows that where the Body of Christ is, there is the whole Christ, and where the Blood of Christ is, there, too, is the whole Christ; *i.e.* Jesus Christ, God and Man, is, by concomitance, wholly and entirely present under each set of accidents—as wholly under each as under both.[2]

[1] *Cf.* the Council of Constance, Condemnation of Wickliffe.

[2] *Communion under both kinds, and the Communion of Children* (sess. 21).—The doctrine of concomitance is the theological basis of the Church's denial of the necessity of communion under both kinds, and of her teaching that they who receive holy communion under only one kind are deprived of no sacramental grace necessary for salvation. In the Western Church the chalice has been withdrawn from all communicants except the priest who celebrates Mass, not for reasons of faith, but

The Holy Eucharist, therefore, is the greatest of the sacraments, for not only is it a symbol and cause of grace, but it contains the Author of grace Himself. Hence, 1, divine worship is due to the Blessed Sacrament; 2, it should be reserved both for the adoration of the faithful and for the communion of the sick; 3, the proper dispositions of soul for its worthy reception are, not only *faith*, but also the *state of grace* (obtained by sacramental confession, if mortal sin has been committed), and the *sincere resolve* not to offend God. Given these dispositions, the Church earnestly desires and encourages the practice of frequent communion (*cf.* Decree of Pius X. on Frequent Communion, 20th December 1905).

VI. The Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction (sess. 14).

Penance is the sacramental tribunal in which the sins committed after baptism are remitted according to the institution of Christ: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them: and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained" (Jo. xx. 22, 23). On the part of the penitent are required, 1, supernatural *sorrow*; 2, *confession*, as complete as possible, of unconfessed mortal sins to

for practical reasons of reverence, convenience, and hygiene. No theological principle exists to prevent the Church from reversing her discipline in this matter, if she saw fit to do so. But to assert that communion under both kinds is of divine precept, or is necessary for salvation, is heretical: and to declare that the Church has erred in this respect, or that her discipline is unlawful, sacrilegious, unjust, unreasonable, etc., is an error against the Church's authority and infallibility (*cf.* Council of Constance, sess. 13). The Council would not determine the practical question as to whether any change in the law was expedient, but referred it to the decision of the Pope (*cf.* Decree at end of sess. 22). It is not generally known that Pope Pius IV. actually did give permission to certain bishops in Germany to allow communion to the laity under both kinds, by way of experiment. But the practice soon died a natural death, being voluntarily abandoned by the laity themselves (*cf.* Pallavicini, l. 24, c. 12, n. 8; Alzog, iii. 429).

Holy communion is not necessary for the salvation of children who have not come to the use of reason.

a priest having jurisdiction; 3, *satisfaction* for the temporal punishment that usually still remains to be expiated. The sacrament is completed by the judicial act of the priest, who pronounces the form of *absolution.*

Extreme Unction is the sacrament (instituted by Christ and promulgated by St. James, Ep. v. 14, 15) which removes from the soul the remaining effects of forgiven sin, and gives a special grace to those in danger of death by sickness. It even forgives sin, if necessary; and, as a secondary effect, restores bodily health when God judges it expedient. The matter is *olive oil blessed by a bishop*, and the form the *prayers* used in the application of the matter to the various senses by a priest (*cf.* Innocent I. (402–417), Ep. 1, al. 25, c. 8).

VII. The Sacrifice of the Mass (sess. 22).

The Holy Eucharist is not only a sacrament, but was instituted by Christ as a true *sacrifice*, to be offered to God continually in His Church by the apostles and their successors in the priesthood. For, 1, true religion must have its real sacrifice, the supreme and distinctive act of divine worship; and 2, if the Old Testament had its sacrifices as types and shadows of the future sacrifice of the Cross, the New Dispensation must possess, not many imperfect, but one perfect sacrifice, not the shadow, but the image (Heb. x. 1) of the great prototypical sacrifice of the Cross already accomplished, with which, therefore, it is identical both in victim and in priest, differing only in the manner of offering.[1] Consequently, too, the Mass depends upon the sacrifice of Calvary for its

[1] Thus the Council not only condemns the heresy of those who denied any identity between the Mass and the sacrifice of the Cross, but also corrects by anticipation the more modern contrary error which affirms their numerical identity, not only in priest and victim, but even in sacrificial action (*cf. American Ecclesiastical Review*, Jan. 1906, pp. 68–70, and following months).

efficacy, and is a sacrifice of propitiation, obtaining by impetration the application of the merits of the Cross both to the living and to the dead. Hence the sacrifice of the Mass does not detract from the efficacy or the universality of the fruits of the sacrifice of the Cross.

VIII. The Sacrament of Order (sess. 23).

Sacrifice implies and necessitates a *priesthood.* Christ, accordingly, at the Last Supper instituted the Christian priesthood, whose principal power and office is to consecrate and offer in sacrifice the true body and blood of Christ. There is a divinely instituted *Hierarchy*, consisting of bishops, priests and ministers. Bishops are higher than priests, and have the power to confirm and ordain. As regards the ministers, the diaconate is certainly of divine institution: the subdiaconate and the minor orders, at least in their present form, have been established by the Church. Order imprints an indelible character on the soul; hence once a priest, always a priest.

IX. The Sacrament of Matrimony (sess. 24).

The contract of *Christian marriage* is a sacrament; and therefore in its substance it is subject to the jurisdiction of the Church alone, which has the power to constitute impediments rendering it invalid.[1] Consummated Christian marriage is absolutely indissoluble, except by death, and a second marriage during the life of the first partner is, by divine law, null and void.

X. Purgatory, etc. (sess. 25).

In the 25th and last session, the Council reaffirmed the doctrine of the *communion of saints*; viz., 1, the

[1] *Cf.* my book on *The New Matrimonial Legislation*, 2nd edition, Washbourne, 1909.

existence of *purgatory*, and the utility of prayers for the dead; 2, the *invocation of the saints* by us, their *intercession* for us, the payment of honour to their *relics* and *images*. Lastly, it defined that Christ gave to His Church the power to grant *indulgences*, and that their use was salutary for the faithful. The practice of granting them was therefore to be continued.

Conclusion.

This is the religion of the Council of Trent, no new religion, indeed, but revealed by Jesus Christ, handed down by Apostolic tradition, and solemnly proposed by the Church to all Christians for their belief. And this religion is the faith of the Catholic Church to-day.[1]

The Vatican Council, in the *Preamble of the Constitution on Faith*, thus comments on the work of Trent: "The salutary providence (of Christ) . . . has been most clearly manifested in the abundant fruits which have accrued to the Christian world from the ecumenical Councils, and especially from that of Trent, though it was held in evil times. For the result has been that the sacred dogmas of religion have been more exactly defined and more fully stated; errors have been condemned and repressed; ecclesiastical discipline has been restored and placed on a firmer basis; the cultivation of knowledge and piety has been fostered among the clergy; colleges have been founded to train youths for the clerical ranks, and morality has been revived among the Christian people by the more accurate instruction of

[1] It is not, of course, the complete Catholic faith, but that portion of it which it was deemed necessary to define in answer to the heretical attacks of the time. The Council, however, was careful to order the preparation of a Catechism containing an exposition of Christian doctrine. *Cf. sess.* 24, *c.* 7, *de Reform.*; *sess.* 25, *Decr. . . . de Catechismo.* This is usually called the Roman Catechism, or the Catechism of the Council of Trent. It was designed especially for the use of parish priests, and was first published by Pope Pius V. in 1566.

the faithful and the greater frequentation of the sacraments. Other results are the closer union of the members with their visible Head, and an increase of vigour throughout the mystical body of Christ, the multiplication of religious congregations and other institutes of Christian piety, and a zeal that is constant, even unto death, for the propagation of the kingdom of Christ throughout the world."

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Note.—*Cf.* also Bibliography, Alzog, iii. 421.

THE MODERN PAPACY

EDITED BY JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J.

WHEN, in 1797, Pope Pius VI. fell grievously ill, Napoleon gave orders that in the event of his death no successor should be elected to his office, and that the Papacy should be discontinued.

But the Pope recovered; the peace was soon broken; Berthier entered Rome on 10th February 1798, and proclaimed a Republic. The aged Pontiff refused to violate his oath by recognizing it, and was hurried from prison to prison into France. Broken with fatigue and sorrows, he died on 19th August 1799, in the French fortress of Valence, aged 82 years. No wonder that half Europe thought Napoleon's veto would be obeyed, and that with the Pope the Papacy was dead.

To one who, without the faith, looked out upon that scene of religion disestablished, convents sacked, abrogated canon law, prisons filled with prelates and priests, and had not forgotten the horrors of the Revolution, the massacre of the clergy, the blasphemous worship of Marat's heart, the adoration of the harlot goddess Reason in Notre Dame, such a thought was forgivable. Yet since then, the Papacy has been lifted to a pinnacle of spiritual power unreached, it may be, since earliest Christian history: we have seen England, which went mad over Garibaldi, enthusiastic over the unimagined splendours of Leo's jubilee; and, with all Europe, awe-struck, as she watched him die. And to whom of modern rulers does our Press apply the noblest Christian epithets, if not to the Pontiff, and to him alone, now reigning?

We here intend, not, of course, to write the Church's history during the last century, nor even that of the Popes, but to touch on a few outstanding incidents, or master-principles, or cogent conclusions, offered by these years of poignant griefs and spiritual triumph.

1800–1846

After an interregnum of eight months, Barnabà Chiaramonti was elected Pope at Venice by the name of Pius VII. Napoleon, who had realized that the official abolition of Catholicism did but add a new element of anarchy to the miseries of France, and had startled Europe by declaring that Society without religion was no better than a ship without a compass, ratified, through Pius's famous Secretary of State, Cardinal Consalvi, the Concordat of 1801. In spite of the deplorable *Articles Organiques* (added after the ratification, and, had they bound him, nullifying the Pope's authority in the French church), Pius felt forced to crown Napoleon in Notre Dame. The Emperor now maintained that the Imperial crown (which, too proud to kneel, he had received standing from the Pope) gave him Imperial rights in Rome, and in 1805 demanded Pius to take active part with him against the enemies of France.[1] The Pope maintained the neutrality of his kingdom; hostilities recommenced; the enemy entered Rome in 1808, and in 1809 Napoleon declared the Papal States re-united to France. Pius excommunicated the invaders and refused to abdicate; on 17th May 1809, Radet's axes broke in the doors of the Quirinal; the Pope, "without linen and without spectacles," was thrust, with Cardinal Pacca, into a carriage and driven away into the night. In the purses of Pope and Cardinal was exactly 1s. 5½d.

We will not dwell on the Pope's successive im-

[1] In particular he was required to exclude all English goods and ships from his ports, and expel English subjects from his States. He refused to do this; and England, with whom he was always on exceptionally good terms, often offered him a refuge on her ships of war.

prisonments, his momentary weakness at Savona and at Fontainebleau, and immediate retractation of the concessions there granted; because less than a year afterwards Napoleon had fallen. Consalvi had visited, with most of the crowned heads of Europe, the Prince Regent of England, had assisted at the Congress of Vienna,[1] and had established Pius once more upon his throne. Pius died on 20th August 1823.

Of the next Pontificates—Leo XII. (1823–29), Pius VIII. (1829–30), and Gregory XVI. (1830–46)—we need say but little.[2]

Leo's love for science is displayed not only by his elaborate reformation of ecclesiastical and secular education, but by his removing from the *Index* the books of Galileo, etc., and under Gregory Cardinal Mai achieved his epoch-making discovery of the existence and reading of *palimpsests*—parchments, that is, over whose all but effaced manuscript a later hand has written—revolutionizing thus the science of textual criticism, and, as Cardinal Wiseman says,[3] "besides the many classical authors whom he thus illustrated (and in many cases published for the first time), there is not a single century of the Christian era, from the 2nd to the 17th, from which he has not produced important and previously unknown works."

[1] This is why the refined features of the Cardinal—the first Legate to visit England since Pole—and the gentle, exhausted countenance of Pius VII. look down on us from Sir Thomas Lawrence's magnificent portraits in the great Hall at Windsor. All the sovereigns and their ambassadors who took part in those epoch-making gatherings are there represented.

[2] As a presage, interesting to Englishmen, of the great Restoration effected by Pius IX., we may mark that Pius VIII. and Gregory XVI. created the English Cardinals Weld and Acton, and it is still, possibly, a question whether Leo XII. had not, *in petto*, elevated to the purple Dr. Lingard, who, as M. Belloc reminds us (*The Month*, March 1909, p. 262), "laid the whole foundation upon which are built the political histories of England now used as text-books in our public schools and universities"; while barely a month after the election of Pius VIII., news reached Rome of the Act of Catholic Emancipation (23rd April 1829).

[3] *Recollections of the Four Last Popes*, 1858, p. 492.

It was reserved, however, to Gregory XVI. sorrowfully to condemn the writings of Lamennais, who (in a France where men like Lacordaire, Chateaubriand, Montalembert, and de Maistre were putting at the service of the Church their genius, labours, and enthusiastic loyalty) was ending a career of splendid Christian promise in revolt and despair.

Movements of insurrection were repressed by Gregory with increasing severity. The clouds seemed dispelled, however, on the election of Pius IX.

Pius IX., 1846–1878

On 16th June 1846, after a conclave of only forty-eight hours, the young and liberal Cardinal Mastai Ferretti was proclaimed as Pope under the title of Pius IX., and Italy went mad with joy.

Almost at once he announced his celebrated amnesty: hundreds of prisoners were released, who went to swell the ranks of the Pope's devoted followers or of secret revolutionaries; and these, in less than two years, succeeded in making anarchy and necessitating severity, where the Pope was establishing an unparalleled reign of peace.

So great was the impression made by Pius' reforms —material (*e.g.*, his sanctioning of railways), educational (his removal of press restrictions), social (his care for the Jewish population of Rome), political, and even constitutional (his large admixture of lay-advisers in the administration, and plan for a new Council of State) —that in the very hour of the European outbreak of revolution (1848) a scheme was seriously devised of a Federation of all Italy under the presidency of the Pope. Indeed, Pius actually initiated this.[1]

[1] To indicate the attitude of Rome to a united Italy, we add the introduction to the draft of the first Alliance drawn up by Pius, his able minister Rossi, and the illustrious Abbé Rosmini, sent by Piedmont:—

"Ever since the three Courts of Rome, Turin, and Florence concluded the Customs' League, their idea has been to enter a Political League,

We do not for a moment suppose this scheme could have succeeded; it is, however, of prime importance as an indication of the full realization by Rome of the meaning and desirability of a United Italy.

Ever since the Pope, on 29th April, had discountenanced war with Austria, the Revolutionary party had grown rapidly in numbers and violence. Rome was terrorized. On 15th November Rossi was stabbed in broad daylight on the steps of the Cancelleria, where Parliament was actually sitting; on the 16th, the mob fusilladed the Quirinal, and Mgr. Palma, the Pope's private secretary, was shot. Pius yielded, allowed a radical ministry to elect itself, and on the 24th fled in disguise to Gaeta.

"Europe had gone mad. Everyone knows the history of that year of revolution, riots, rebellions, and new constitutions, when one emperor, and several kings, and numerous princes and ministers, scattered in all directions like men running away from a fire that is just going to reach a quantity of explosives. Pius the Ninth fled like the rest."[1]

We shall not dwell on the fantastic history of the following months; the protests from Gaeta; the occupation of Rome by alien crowds; the deposition of Pius, and the proclamation of a Republic under a preposterous Triumvirate; the impious mockeries of Holy Week.[2] In answer to the Pope's appeal to the great Catholic powers, French forces under General

which might become the active nucleus of Italian Nationality, and give to Italy that unity of force which is needed for internal and external defence, and for the regular and progressive development of national prosperity. This intention could not be realized in a complete and permanent form, unless the aforesaid League assumed the shape of a Confederation of States.

"Article 2.—The August and Immortal Pontiff, Pius IX., *mediator and initiator* of the League and the Confederation, and his successors, shall be their Perpetual Presidents." This, and a later and modified document, are given in full in the Appendix to *The Italian Revolution*, by Chevalier O'Clery, M.P., London, 1875.

[1] F. M. Crawford, *Ave Roma Immortalis*, ii. p. 222.

[2] On this occasion the canons of St. Peter's were each fined 120 crowns for refusing to sing a Te Deum in thanksgiving, and the Archbishop of Sinigaglia was murdered for a like offence.

Oudinot landed in Italy, and retook Rome on the night of 29th June, St. Peter's day, 1849.

"During the long period from 1849 to 1870, Pius IX.," Mr. Crawford continues, "governed Rome in comparative security, in spite of occasional revolutionary outbreaks, and in kindness if not in wisdom. Taxation was insignificant. Work was plentiful and well paid, considering the countries and the times. Charities were enormous. The only restriction on liberty was political, never civil. Reforms and improvements of every kind were introduced. When Gregory XVI. died, Rome was practically a mediæval city; when the Italians took it, twenty-four years later, it was a fairly creditable modern capital." (*Op. cit.*, p. 223.)

These words at least may put us on our guard against mythical accounts of Papal government originated in malice, exaggerated by passion, and believed through ignorance.

We mention the single instance of the Neapolitan prisons (for Papal Rome and the Naples of Ferdinand and Francis were equally odious to the English feeling of that period), so violently attacked for filth and overcrowding in Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet. Yet read the appalling indictment of the same prisons, under Victor Emmanuel, whose "ardent supporter" the speaker, Lord Henry Lennox, had been. He told the House of Commons, on 8th May 1863, how, at Salerno, *e.g.*, all but naked, and starving, political suspects and murderers, priests and laymen, were—230 of them—confined in a single room. "To describe the state of squalor and filth in which these wretched men were, would require more eloquence than I can command. . . . The stench was dreadful . . . the food they had would not be given to any cattle in England." Into a prison, built to hold 600, 1200 were packed. "The prisoners rushed towards us with piteous cries . . . and, with bloodshot eyes and outstretched arms, implored, not for liberty but for trial, not for mercy but for sentence." Lord Henry Lennox compares the whole scene to Dante's Inferno. This startling speech may now easily be read in The O'Clery's *Making of Italy*, 308–316.

Not that we wish to deny, minimize, or palliate the instances of vexatious or mistaken government with which this period was marred. The time was hopelessly out of joint; all conditions were abnormal; to attempt reform when revolution is in the air needs the most gentle and delicate handling, such as Cardinal

Antonelli, the Pope's minister, but not a priest, most certainly could not apply.[1]

During this period, too, Pius restored the English Hierarchy (1852), and, to the joy of the Catholic world, defined the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady —a unique affirmation of *supernatural Holiness*—not of mere morals, or of natural perfection, but of that "Holiness to the Lord" which flows from Grace.

This paper is not, we repeat, a history of the Modern Papacy, but an indication of some of the principles it has stood for, and the influence it has exerted, in Religious History during the last century. Our aim, therefore, does not require, as our space does not permit, a detailed account of the unification of Italy and the loss to the Pope of his temporal power. Much may be forgiven to a patriotic intoxication. Yet none can read the authentic records of that episode without his eyes smarting and his cheeks tingling with indignation and shame for human nature, for Europe, and, alas, for England.

Thus in September 1860, Fanti, without any declaration of war, entered the Roman territory by Cavour's orders, who had not even received from Antonelli an answer to his ultimatum, itself, as *The Times* confessed, unjustifiable in form. Austria and Spain, schismatic Russia and Protestant Prussia, protested, and withdrew their representatives from Turin. France broke off public diplomatic relations. Alone Palmerston and

[1] Yet in this "theocracy" 5917 laymen and only 90 ecclesiastics took part, half of whom were not, nor intended to become, priests; in some cases, provinces entirely under lay control asked for a prelate in place of the lay prefect, "who thought only of his family," to govern them: see De Rayneval's official note to Walewski, April 1856, first published in *The Daily News*, March 1857. When in 1879 Cairoli rejected the plea that the Government should assist the sufferers from inundations and eruptions "because there was no precedent," Cavallotti agreed—unless recourse were had to Bourbon and Papal times. In 1842 the Papal Government condoned a year's taxation to the people of Bondeno and maintained them while kept off their land by inundation; condoned all taxes on wood and iron used in rebuilding houses; rebuilt the poorer quarters itself, and sustained many other expenses.

Russell apologized for the outrage. Sheer usurpation had been more dignified than the farcical plebiscites of the Duchies, Romagna, Savoy and Nice in 1860,[1] and at Naples, in the same year, frankly summed up as worthless by Sir H. (then Mr.) Elliot, British Ambassador at Naples, and Garibaldian in sympathy, in a letter (16th October) to Lord John Russell: he had, the previous day, written confessing the deplorable deterioration in the provinces under a few weeks only of revolutionary rule, and above all at Rome and in the Roman provinces after the climax. Should we mention, too, the repeated neglect of the white flag by the invaders—the bombardment of Ancona for eleven hours (night of 28th–29th September 1860) by Fanti and Cialdini, defended, alas, in *The Times* of 26th October; the murder of the Zouaves at the Porta Pia, and the bombardment of the Trastevere for half an hour after the white flag had been hoisted?[2]

At this time God poured out over all his Church the "spirit of grace and prayers" in an extraordinary measure. Of that secret sacrifice of supplication and penance we shall not speak, but allude, and briefly, to that gallant offering of themselves to their common Father's service of the Pontifical Zouaves. Forgotten, too often, in our day, they were calumniated in their own, and by England, as "a motley crew of alien mercenaries," though two-thirds of them (5324 to 8300) were volunteers from the tiny Papal territory (mis-called disaffected), though they included some

[1] All these plebiscites are well discussed by O'Clery, *Making of Italy*, pp. 115, 117, 230, 267 n., 536.

[2] The official statistics laid before Parliament at Rome in 1875 expressly set forth the regular and immense increase, year by year from 1863–1872, of offences against the person (from 29,637 to 66,000) and property (43,586 to 108,000) exactly in proportion as anti-Catholic legislation increased, such as the suppression of church schools, exterior worship, seminaries, monasteries, benefices; prohibition of Papal encyclicals and of episcopal communication with Rome; indeed, in 1865, 108 sees were forcibly kept vacant! With the suppression of monasteries went, too, the confiscation and too often utter destruction of whole libraries of absolutely priceless books and documents.

of the noblest of Europe's families, though their pay was exactly one halfpenny per day, with a ration of soup, coffee, and bread, though it was they who nursed and buried the abandoned cholera patients of Albano, the Cardinal Archbishop of that town dying at their side. When, on the fatal 20th September, they ceased the defence of the Porta Pia immediately after the sufficient display of armed resistance, *The Times* railed at their "bloodless hands" and "violated crusaders' oath," not realizing the cost of that obedience to their chief, Pope Pius, who refused to have the blood of the insurgents, Italians after all, purposelessly shed.

"And after all, the sneers of a correspondent count for little against the evidence of facts. Cercottes, Patay, Le Mans, all witnessed the valour of the soldiers of Pius IX., and no name stood higher in the army of the Loire than that of the Papal Zouaves. There was blood enough upon their hands, when they charged into the heart of the Prussian lines at Patay, and two out of every three of them fell fighting round the banner of the Sacred Heart." [1]

Into Rome, left by the Zouaves, trooped the scum of the Italian cities. "Rome," said the Liberal *Nazione*, "is given up as a *res nullius* to all the promoters of disorder and agitation, to all the political scapegraces, to all the fishers in troubled waters, who have till now been

[1] The O'Clery, *op. cit.*, p. 527. It is pleasant to read the names of three old Zouaves of 1867: Mr. Tracey (afterwards member of the United States Congress), Mr. Kenyon of Gillingham, and the Chevalier O'Clery himself, who succeeded in crossing the Italian lines and getting into Rome on the very eve of the attack. But alas, that while our Government declared that Catholics should be watched, and steps taken to prevent any breach of the Foreign Enlistment Act—and indeed the Irish Volunteers who fought at Spoleto and Ancona had to be sent thither by stealth—funds were publicly raised, by subscription in the papers, and elsewhere, committees were formed, and a Garibaldian legion raised and shipped off with the undisguised connivance of the Palmerston Cabinet. On the base of the monument in the cemetery of San Lorenzo to the fallen Zouaves, the new masters of Rome, with the incredible naïveness of very small minds, added a slab with the following inscription:—This Monument | which the Theocratic Government raised | to the memory of foreign mercenaries, | Redeemed Rome | leaves to posterity | as a perpetual Testimony | of calamitous times | S.P.Q.R. | 24 Oct. 1871.

loafing about the streets of a hundred Italian cities." A prisoner in his palace, Pius outlived for less than a month King Victor Emmanuel; and with these two deaths, on 9th January and 6th February 1878, an old world passed away. Pius was taken through a rioting mob, screaming that his ashes should be thrown into the Tiber, to the ancient basilica of San Lorenzo; and there, in a chapel to whose decoration the whole Catholic world contributed, he sleeps with the calm face of the Good Shepherd bent towards him.

The Vatican Council.—When by the Bull *Aeterni Patris*, 29th June 1868, Pius IX. convened a General Council, it seemed incredible that it should ever meet. However, on 8th December 1869, 719 representatives of the Catholic Church (afterwards 769), amongst whom were three-quarters of the entire episcopate, met at Rome; and in the fourth session, on 18th July 1870, the doctrine of Papal Infallibility was defined and promulgated, the spiritual triumph preceding the temporal disaster by just two months.

The first General Council since Trent suggests a comparison with its predecessor, as well as the consideration of how far events have justified it. (*Cf.* L. 23.)

i. From the point of view of *doctrine*, Trent is unique in its careful formulation of a large and systematic body of doctrine. It covered the whole ground traversed by the Reformers. But with them it presupposed much: the existence of God, the divinity of Christ, the possibility and, indeed, fact of revelation.

Trent finally established the Catholic position, and it is curious to observe how serious opponents no longer chose the Tridentine doctrine as such for their attacks. In Germany and France the Lutheran and Calvinist churches are, as intellectual and religious expositions of Christianity, dead: even in its characteristic English expression the Reformed religion is (alas) evaporating, and presents a wholly different aspect to what it did even fifty years ago. This change was reflected and anticipated in the

Vatican Council, which had to discuss the fundamental positions: God's Existence, Nature, Providence; the rôles of Reason and Revelation; the seat of Authority: the eighteen canons of its third session opposed the grosser materialism of its epoch as they anticipated the subtler philosophy of immanence and symbolism which to-day, helped by an unwise criticism, renders revelation meaningless, or at least deprives religious categories of all traditional value.

ii. Again, while Trent, from the point of view of *organization*, had before all things generally to reform a worldly and immoral clergy and court, the Vatican, profiting by the spiritual reformation worked by and after Trent, could content itself with establishing the Papal position, rendered difficult by the attitude of the temporal Courts of Europe, and put in a new spiritual light by the immense spread of the Church in countries and colonies recently discovered or founded.

The final declaration by Pope Pius X: (January 1909) of the non-existence of any right of veto in the papal elections, and his great simplification of the machinery of the Church, carry on and complete this part of the work of the Vatican; while the admirable insight owing to which he detected and condemned the latent forces of Rationalism and pseudo-mysticism which combined into "Modernism," marks Pius X. true heir of Pius IX. as guardian of supernatural faith.

Leo XIII., 1878–1903

Into a Europe, then, where France had just reproclaimed herself republican and Germany was waging the Kulturkampf, while in England the scientific atheism (barely conceivable nowadays, so have we changed) of Huxley and Spencer, badly grouped with Darwin, was, for a phase, triumphant, Leo came, pale, emaciated, doomed to speedy death, so people said. Yet his indomitable vitality carried him through a quarter of a century of fight and triumph, till his

flashing eye and firm rule were known to the ends of that earth all over which he replanted the Cross.

From the crowded story of his Pontificate we excerpt three chapters, intellectual, social, and political, respectively.

THE POPE AND PHILOSOPHY. — When by his encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879) Leo XIII. accentuated and universalized the reaction which was setting in towards the philosophy of Aquinas, he was accused of obscurantism and medievalism.[1]

The Pope no doubt wished young clerics to know St. Thomas at first hand, to have an accurate knowledge of the outlines at least of Thomistic philosophy, and to have a firm foothold upon the bed-rock of common-sense which underlies that philosophy, as it does not the shifting quicksand of most modern speculation. He is far from enjoining their ultimate acquiescence in every Thomist position. He wishes every allowance to be made for any further light that the progress of physical science, or history, or anthropology, has thrown on what St. Thomas taught. Here the Louvain school of Cardinal Mercier and M. de Wulf is making an admirable synthesis. Thomist philosophy is founded ultimately on Aristotle (with a strong admixture of healthy Platonism), and to him the Pope in a certain sense recalls us. Aristotelianism is the philosophy of Natural Realism as opposed to the Monism and Pantheistic Immanence of the later German School. It is the philosophy best suited to the development of physical science, and indeed Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon, as Aristotle himself, were, in their days, great physicists. The Pope commands, therefore, a Philosophy of Being rather than of consciousness and mere subjective necessities of human thinking. Nature is vast, and God is infinite, and man is not the measure of all things.[2]

THE POPE AND SCRIPTURE. — Another document,

[1] For the position of St. Thomas in Catholic history, see Lecture 22.

[2] See *Scholasticism*, by Joseph Rickaby. 1908, Constable.

the *Providentissimus Deus*, 18th November 1893, reaffirming the Catholic doctrine of Biblical inspiration now practically abandoned everywhere save within the Church, was at first thought to be reactionary legislation, and an embargo upon criticism. Facts, in their disconcerting way, have snubbed these petulant prognostications. Just as Neo-scholasticism has been the vigorous offspring of *Aeterni Patris*, so *Providentissimus* has stimulated in a marvellous way the scientific study and popular use of the Scriptures.

Its chief point is, that the Scriptures are the Word of God, and cannot lie any more than their Author can. They form no ordinary book, but are unerring in the sense in which God has spoken in them. The Pope re-asserts that to discover this sense is, in many cases, matter for immense study. It is easy to read an erroneous first impression into Scripture, and then to find in it errors of our own importing. Proper reverence will make us exercise proper caution; a hypothesis is but a hypothesis; within our own memories we have seen school after school rise, wax tyrannous, and fall; we have watched a generation of first-rate Catholic scholars move cautiously forward, and the tendency of non-Catholic criticism, in many cases (Harnack is perhaps the best example), turn, with equal caution, back.

Yet in general it is still true to say that Catholics are left practically alone, to the astonishment of their older-fashioned adversaries, as guardians of Holy Writ. The spirit of sober criticism, of reverent judgement, and of intellectual sincerity which breathed in men like Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort, has evaporated (save in a few honoured cases) from Anglican criticism, but exists to-day strongly among Catholics. The theological treatises on *Faith*, the *Church*, the *Scriptures*, *Tradition*, have been perfected in this half century, which has seen, too, the great French Catholic dictionaries, the German *Cursus Scripturæ*, the Biblical Commission always

sitting at Rome (its decisions are highly technical, and framed by experts for experts), the romantic work in Palestine of the Dominican school at Jerusalem (the editors of the well-known *Revue Biblique*), and the Oriental Faculty of the Jesuit University at Beyrût; finally, the Revision of the Text of the Vulgate, in commission under Dom A. Gasquet, O.S.B.: all this combination of spur and curb is most characteristic of the Holy See.[1]

. . . . . .

Leo only had the triumphs of the German Kulturkampf, which preceded the French: we shall merely therefore synopsize part of it, though both campaigns aimed alike and only at liberty for Catholics to live out the Christian life.

1. THE PRUSSIAN KULTURKAMPF, 1869–1888.—Bismarck professed to see in the Vatican Council an attack on the modern state, and, after the Franco-Prussian war, resolved forcibly to impose "Prussian traditions" on the Catholic Church in Prussia. A series of anti-Catholic laws were passed and relentlessly applied.[2] Relentless zeal marked the application of these laws. Enormous fines were paid: hundreds of priests were imprisoned, led by the

[1] Notice, too, the popularization of the text of the Gospels by the Society of St. Jerome in Italy, comparable with the C.T.S. 1d. Gospels in England, and the enormous sale of Abbé Fouard's critical *Life of Christ* in France; also the new Biblical Institute at Rome.

[2] *E.g.*, in 1871 Catholic section of *Kultus-ministerium* suppressed; 1872, education a State monopoly; 1873, articles 15 and 18 of the Constitution Erastianized; 1873, the first of the notorious "May Laws" making all ecclesiastical appointments dependent on Government and subject to a *Government* examination in philosophy, history and German literature. German authorities alone were to exercise disciplinary power over the Church: a Royal Court was established to hear appeals against Church censures and dismiss priests who resisted these new laws. In 1874, civil marriage was legalized; administration of vacant bishoprics was secularized; in 1875 all temporalities stopped save to those who promised, in writing, to obey the ecclesiastical laws; all religious communities, save those exclusively devoted to the sick, suppressed; 1876, the State monopolized all administration of Church property and religious instruction in schools, where a priest was rarely admitted.

Archbishops of Cologne, Gnesen, and Posen, and the Bishops of Trier, Paderborn and Münster, who, with the Bishops of Breslau and Limburg, were later on dismissed from their sees; in fact, before long all the Prussian bishoprics but three became vacant; over 1000 parishes had no priest, and the faithful no Mass and no Sacraments. In many cases even the administration of the Last Sacraments was punished. In a very few cases the Government succeeded in establishing some State pastors, but Pius IX. immediately excommunicated them, and they had no more success than the momentary and sporadic efforts to form schismatical congregations which we have seen in France.

Enormous numbers of monasteries, orphanages, diocesan colleges, seminaries, etc., were meanwhile being forcibly closed. Old Catholics—a sect which ceased to have any practical importance after the death of the one or two scholars who headed it—were given free use of Catholic churches: three Old Catholics were appointed professors in the Faculty of Catholic theology at Bonn.

The Catholic Church in Prussia showed, however, no sign of becoming merely Prussian. The bishops, in memorials to King and Government, and in their pastorals, denounced the State Absolutism which underlay all this legislation. Pius IX. in 1875 declared the laws invalid and not binding on the Catholic conscience. The more they suffered, the more the laity rallied to their clergy, bishops, and to the Holy See; the more zealously they supported all Catholic reorganization, especially the annual congresses, and the Catholic press. The Catholic vote was organized and ever more unanimous in the elections for the Prussian Diet and the Imperial Reichstag.

Indeed, Bismarck, foiled by the passive resistance of Catholics, found he needed their votes to combat Socialism. In 1879 Falk was replaced, as Minister of Public Worship, by von Puttkamer; in 1882 diplomatic relations with the Holy See were resumed.

The laws were ever less rigorously applied, though the details of a story of almost unfaltering success cannot here be given. Step by step Prussia retraced the anti-Catholic course she had pursued, and, after thirty years' hard fight the courageous Catholics of that country find themselves with very nearly all the advantages they had at the outset, and an admirable political position and religious efficiency they never had dreamt of before the wholesome tonic of persecution.[1]

2. THE POPE AND FRANCE: *The Church and the Republic.*—Leo did not live to carry the French religious struggles, like the Kulturkampf, to an end.

From 1870–1875, with Catholic monarchists in power, the Church seemed at peace. The Basilica of Montmartre was voted; deputies went in pilgrimage to Paray; free universities were established by law. In 1876–77 reaction set in; the clergy flung themselves passionately into the anti-republican campaign; they were defeated, and in 1879 Jules Grévy became President. In spite of a series of anti-religious measures[2] Leo XIII. in 1891 proclaimed the duty, for Catholics, of "rallying" to the Republic.

It is true that "Republic" or "Democracy" and "Catholicism" are not essentially opposed; but *de facto*, in France, from 1870–1892, the terms royalist, conservative, anti-democrat, catholic, and republican, democrat, anti-clerical, had been practically synonymous. This disastrous identification

[1] The same curve was traced in the Empire at large and in individual States. See, for a significant account of the German Catholic reaction, the *Dublin Review*, April, July 1908: January, April 1909.

[2] *E.g.* 1879, the right to confer degrees was taken from the Free Universities; 1880, violent dispersion of non-authorized men's congregations and enforced resignation of a great number of Conservative judges; 1881, law authorizing Sunday labour; 1882, obligatory lay primary education; 1883, suppression of military chaplains; 1884, divorce legalized; 1888, all public education forbidden to "Congréganistes"; 1889, military service, imposed on all clergy and religious, and many other substantially anti-religious laws.

of religion with political party the Pope deplored, though absolutely to condemn it neither was nor is quite just. Gambetta had identified in 1869 (*before* the Conservative programme, that is) the Republican scheme with thorough-paced Anti-clericalism; the Comte de Chambord, champion of the Royalists, was, on the other hand, a devout Catholic; the violence of the Republicans (*e.g.*, in 1880) was not for conciliating Catholic sentiment.[1]

In 1882 the fully victorious republicans fell into two parties—the Opportunists, liberal rather than sectarian, in armed neutrality rather than hostile to the Church, and always disguising their rare attacks (occasioned only by their need of radical votes) under specious names of toleration, economy and the like,[2] and the Radicals, who for their part, led since 1885 by Clémenceau, frankly oppose dogma to dogma, preach Atheism, and, often, free love against the Christian ethics preserved even by the creedless Opportunists.

They rule, and are explicitly sectarian since 1899. Combes abandoned in 1902 the mask of decency still worn by Waldeck Rousseau.[3] It would thus be perverse to see in the opposition of French Catholics to the Government mere blind political prejudice.

[1] We will not deny that Catholics, owing to a party spirit as regrettable as inevitable, will probably have opposed even wise democratic legislation. Much, too, of the submission to Leo involved the sacrifice of the dearest traditions and deepest instincts; nor need we wonder that, since his death, and the anti-clerical campaign, Royalism (especially in the *Action Française*) has revived.

[2] Most of these finally joined the Radicals; the few survivors have, since 1899, inclined to the Catholics, till lately, when the Government, separated from the Socialists, has reclaimed them.

[3] The words of M. Viviani, Minister of Public Works, spoken on 8th November 1906, in the Chamber of Deputies, were placarded, by vote, all over France. "All of us together, through our fathers, through our first-born, through ourselves, we have bound ourselves to a work of anti-clericalism, of irreligion. . . . We have extinguished in the heavens lights that shall never be re-kindled. We have taught the worker and the wretched that Heaven held in it but chimeras."

ii. *The Congregations and Education.*—We return, then, to the ministry of M. Waldeck Rousseau (23rd June 1899) and pass at once to his legislation with regard to religious associations. He wasted no time: the draft of a law was immediately introduced; the Assumptionists were proceeded against, to ensure the suppression of their paper, *La Croix*; he inflamed opinion by his harangue at Toulouse on 25th October 1900, upon the "milliard of the congregations,"[1] and in 1901 the Associations Law was passed. We need not detail again a story so often related, though the tardy conversion of an influential part of the English press barely atones for the conspiracy of silence and misrepresentation in which at first it joined. Briefly, the Religious associations were told to solicit special authorization, and were assured that the Government would readily grant it. Non-religious associations received, on the other hand, unusual liberty. The Jesuits, primarily aimed at in this law, did not ask an authorization certain to be refused, but reorganized their colleges on a legal basis of lay government. The other congregations, trusting in Waldeck Rousseau's assurances, asked, in most cases, for authorization. In 1902, 7th June, M. Combes succeeded to M. Rousseau's place. Radicals joined at once with Socialists and made the *bloc*. At once all petitions of "teaching, preaching, and commercial (!) congregations" were rejected in the lump. Further, the employment of isolated members of the forbidden congregation was vetoed. Moreover, the law was applied to all congregations which had been authorized since 1886. Against the first of these proceedings M. Waldeck Rousseau protested formally; the second was against his official decisions; the third against his official promises. In June–July of 1902, 2920

[1] This "phantom milliard" became a joke even in the mouths of Republicans. The anti-association campaign has cost the Government enormous sums, and the riches of the religious were, need we say, mythical. Finally, the scandal of M. Duez comes before us.

schools were accordingly closed, and in July 1903, 3000 more. In 1904, 7th July, all congregations, authorized or not, were forbidden to teach. Though the immediate and complete application of this law would have caused such educational anarchy that a space of ten years was assigned for carrying it into full effect, 2800 more schools were closed in that month, and on 4th September M. Combes boasted at Auxerre that he had destroyed 13,904 schools out of 16,904. Need we say that the Government had neither money, nor teachers, nor (save by expropriation) schools with which to repair the havoc they had made?

It cannot be too strongly insisted upon, to understand the Catholic attitude, that though from 1880 to 1895 a certain religious neutrality was at first observed and usually proclaimed in the Governmental schools, yet, as everybody knows, such a neutrality becomes sooner or later impossible, and was certainly not maintained in France, nor does anybody, to-day, trouble to deny this. M. Aulard, *e.g.*, professor at the Sorbonne, and head of the *mission laïque*, makes the fact his boast. Since 1896, anti-christian, not merely un-christian, teaching is *de règle*. The steady increase of juvenile crime, and, alas, of children's suicides, since secular education has grown up, shows that not for nothing can the Name of God be erased from the State's school-books, and Christ be called an Oriental fanatic and the motherhood of Mary a sentimental dream.[1]

On these facts we have but few comments to make.

[1] During this time, the navy had been forbidden to display mourning on Good Friday, and the Mass of the Holy Ghost at the opening of the Law courts suppressed (1900). In 1903 naval and military hospitals were laicized. In 1904 all crucifixes were removed from the law courts, and soldiers were forbidden to frequent clubs containing a religious element. In these two years the minute system of espionage and delation in the army, and indeed, the whole administration was perfected. A minute inquisition into the lives of all public servants was instituted, and any mark of Catholic practice was followed with instantaneous disgrace and deprivation. The scandal connected with this did more harm than anything else to the Government.

No one now denies that the specious arguments of the earlier phases (it was actually urged by M. Waldeck Rousseau that his aim was but to subject the arrogant regular clergy to the secular) did but mask the intention to (1) suppress religious education, (2) cut off religious and ecclesiastical vocations, (3) prepare the rupture of the Concordat. The "White Book" of the Holy See (26th December 1908), cc. 2 and 3, proves to demonstration that the Government promises before each of its actions were never fulfilled; and that its later confession of its original intentions show that they were never meant to be, though even Waldeck Rousseau may have found himself outstripped. Protesting on 27th June 1903 in the Senate against M. Combe's rejection *en bloc* of the requests of the congregations to which he himself had promised (13th June 1901) a serious consideration, he said: "I do not suppose that any one here doubted that every request would be individually examined. . . . Had I allowed it to appear, in the Chamber, or before the Senate, that the requests, when formulated, would not be discussed, can anyone maintain that this law—so closely disputed, whose every clause was conquered foot by foot, at the cost of what efforts none knows better than I—would ever have been voted? No one in his senses could assert it!" And as for the congregations already authorized (1886) he had officially assured the Holy See (February 1902, "White Book," c. 3, doc. vii. and xii.) that they need ask no additional authorization. When M. Combes suppressed them, he protested (27th June 1903) that his "law of control had been imperceptibly transformed into a law of exclusion."

This is not the place to record the shameful incidents of the expulsions, nor even the honourable resignations of so many officers rather than drive out weak women by armed force from hospital or school. Chivalry still lingered there. Nor need we detail the unedifying incidents of bribery, incompetence, obscenity, and cowardice which have in some cases ended in the

recall of nuns to the wards from which epidemic had scared their successors, or public opinion had driven them. Nor will we dwell upon the broken lives, the desolate existence, the frightening futures of thousands upon thousands of women flung penniless and companionless on the world. Christ, for whom they had given up all, has asked them to follow Him to Calvary. May their martyrdom intercede for men who know, alas, all too well what they are doing.[1]

iii. *The Rupture of the Concordat.*—Though Leo XIII. died in 1903, for completeness sake we add here a mere outline of this drama, appending thereto the briefest of comments. In April 1904 M. Loubet visited Rome, ignoring the Pope. On principle, the Holy See protested. The French Ambassador left Rome *en congé*. A semi-rupture of relations was thus indicated. In the spring of the same year the Bishops of Laval and Dijon were summoned to Rome. The Government protested, and broke off all diplomatic relations on 30th July. On 9th December 1905 M. Rouvier's ministry declared the separation of Church and State; on the 26th the Vatican "White Book" appeared, followed on 11th February by the encyclical *Vehementer Nos*, condemning the separation. Meanwhile the State was provoking violent resistance by taking the inventories of churches and their contents, now considered secularised: the entire Episcopate, free now to act as it chose, met twice, in May and September, and on 10th August the encyclical *Gravissimo officii* rejected the proffered *Associations Cultuelles*, of which a word below. In December, Mgr. Montagnini, guardian of the Archives of the Nuncio, was suddenly expelled and his papers seized. In 1907 a law of M. Briand put all ecclesiastical edifices at the disposal of the communes, and

[1] Everyone should read *The Nun*, translated from the exquisite French of M. René Bazin. We have been assured by priests of wide experience as confessors in France since the expulsions, that that most tragic story is no exaggeration of the reality.

was forthwith condemned by Rome. Bishops and seminarists were immediately expelled from their seminaries; and the final complicated financial laws of Devolution of Ecclesiastical Property were followed by a temporary lull in the storm.

The Chamber of Deputies, 10th February 1905, insisted on the Holy See's responsibility for the dénouement. M. Combes (March 1905, *National Review*: *cf.* his speech, 21st March 1903, in the Senate; and see "White Book," cc. 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9) owned to having allowed insoluble difficulties to accumulate, so as to force Rome to a seeming initiative in rupture.[1] And from what we have said above, the Holy See is amply acquitted. It should, too, be insisted on, that the separation was not simply such, but a positive reorganization, by the State, of the French Church on Congregational lines. The Associations of Worship would have led directly to schism; experience has shown this since in the few cases where they have been attempted; Rome saw at the time what all see now, at any rate, that the divine constitution of the Church was being tampered with, and rejected the proffered bait. Since the separation, the churches have mostly been left, indeed, in Catholic hands; but they may be withdrawn at any moment. The 1907 Law of Devolution, which starves the Church financially, is already rendering their upkeep impossible, as also the training and maintenance of the clergy.

[1] Combes, moreover, contrary to precedent and the explicit interpretation hitherto of the word *Nominamus* in the Concordat, not only (as was his right) offered for Rome's approbation, names for occupants of vacant bishopries, but frequently suggested a single name, already sometimes rejected or certain so to be, and refused to suggest any others, so that in 1905 some fifteen sees were vacant! The summons to Rome of two bishops, the occasion of the final rupture, was indeed contrary to the *Articles Organiques*, which forbade direct communication in disciplinary matters between Rome and bishops, who were not, moreover, to leave their dioceses. But these articles were no part of the Concordat: Pius VII. declared this on the spot (24th May and 18th August 1802); and the Government (Portalis: 15 nivose; Year XII: Talleyrand, 18th July 1804) recognized his right. They did not then oblige the Holy See in any way. (*Cf.* p. 2.)

Since the rupture, the Church is become free. Her bishops are chosen by herself, unhampered in action, and far superior to the Concordataire generation. The priest is forced into far closer communication with his flock, and often must work with his hands for the food of which the State has twice robbed him; the faithful themselves have to take a far more personal attitude to their religion. Naïve optimism has yielded to an energetic work of reconstruction; and spiritually, the *tone* of France has risen high.

We have insisted on these two great episodes in the History of the Modern Papacy. Were we to allow, even, that every act of Rome had been politically mistaken, we have the spectacle of a vast Church, obedient to the voice of its Chief, abandoning, without hesitation, all worldly goods (and they were great) for motives exclusively spiritual—Christ in the schools; Christ in the family; unity of obedience in unity of Faith—an assertion, unique in our day, of an aim and destiny equally supernatural.

THE SOCIAL ENCYCLICALS OF LEO XIII.—So much has been published on this part of Leo's activity,[1] that we need but remind our readers of the principles of his gigantic constructive undertaking, for what he gave was no mere picture and appraisement of facts, but a complete, though flexible, theory for all future action. His chief social encyclicals were:—

1. *Quod Apostolici*, on Socialism. December 1878.
2. *Arcanum Divinæ*, on Christian Marriage. February 1880.
3. *Diuturnum Illud*, on the Civil Power. June 1881.
4. *Humanum Genus*, on Freemasonry. April 1884.
5. *Immortale Dei*, on the Christian State. November 1885.
6. *Libertas Præstantissimum*, on Human Liberty. June 1888.
7. *Sapientiæ Christianæ*, on Catholic Citizenship. January 1890.
8. *Rerum Novarum*, on the Condition of Workmen. May 1891.
9. *Graves de Communi Re*, on Christian Democracy. January 1901.

[1] *Cf.* especially *Social Questions and the Duty of Catholics*, by C. S. Devas, M.A., reprinted by the C.T.S. in 1907, from articles in the *Dublin Review*, April and July 1902, October 1906. To this admirable little book we refer all anxious to know Leo's full mind on these subjects.

We have here a whole, outlined at once, in 1878, in view of the immediate needs of that sad period, summed up and perfected in 1901, twenty-four years after the first encyclical.

Leo will always base Society on the Family, the most fundamental unit, constituted and safeguarded by marriage. Christianity, following on the Mosaic law, achieved what even the best pagan thought had surmised, and proclaimed marriage religious, one, and indissoluble. The encyclical of 1880 anticipated the research which has shattered theories of any aboriginal promiscuity of man, denounced the divorce which has since proved increasingly disastrous to America, France, and Australia, and even, alas, to England; and any illicit State interference with the citizen's free choice of marriage (as in the case of soldiers) or of celibacy (as in that of religious). To the family the child primarily belongs, and from it may claim its education.

For the maintenance of the family personal property is sooner or later necessary, while the right to it is essential to humanity. The assent of mankind, human legislation, and divine law, and the experience that thus only Society is stable, have joined to support the instinctive appropriation of even that soil on which a man has imprinted his personality.[1]

Next, for the full development of their component individuals, families by law of nature create States, and this means Rule; and hence Authority, lodged in human hands, is involved in God-constructed Nature. Hence must be characterized the relations between ruler and ruled; while the form of government is in itself indifferent, and should be determined by the history, character, and circumstances of a nation. Hence a philosophy of revolutions, which, as *faits accomplis*, may be recognized, but, unless the governments have ceased, in fact, to be such, may never be

[1] The Pope in this encyclical of 1891 was speaking primarily of the small properties of working men.

initiated. With a right State a well-ruled Church cannot fail, therefore, to work in harmony, both being perfect and independent societies; and hence the need for both to exercise those restrictions on themselves, one another, and their individual subjects, which shall ensure the true liberty which consists in allowing, not *each* to do as he likes, but *all* to develop themselves into what human nature tends to at its best.

Thus have Catholics gained the watchword "Christian Democracy," which, rightly understood, ensures the observance of *distributive justice* to all alike, and in particular towards those least able to help themselves. In such a movement, our century's version of the Franciscan, Catholics should lead.

Nor is this Socialism. Inequalities of individuals come from the ruling of the same God who made human nature equal. In their final end, in rights and duties in its regard, men are equal; in all else, we may say, unequal. Arithmetical equality makes a commonwealth in caricature; the infinite variety of individuals may be, by justice and charity, knit into the texture of a perfect State. Thus, over against the address to French Workmen, 19th September 1891, and the encyclical on St. Joseph, 15th August 1889, etc., we can set the earlier address of 18th October 1887; and the relative duties of employers and employees are thus found admirably set forth in all their details regarding wages, contracts, reprisals. Above all, the individualistic principle that wages are a mere matter of contract is as carefully rejected as the Socialist theory of necessary partnership. Into the complicated controversy raised by Leo's insistence on the "Living Wage" we cannot enter. To sum it up, that, not "individual," but "social" injustice is suffered by the man whose wage suffices for himself but not for his family, was the hotly disputed doctrine of Leo, maintained energetically by Cardinal Manning.[1] Bank scandals in America and

[1] *Leo XIII. on the Conditions of Labour*, p. 14.

Rome, the crimes of European usury, the oppressive taxation in Italy, and a hundred wrongs witnessed by the twentieth century, would illustrate yet others of his contentions.

The whole base of Leo's reconstruction is twofold: (i) Man is fallen; (ii) Christ is his redemption. There will never be pure human nature triumphant. Economic legislation bandages the sore, but does not heal it. The wise intervention of the civil power is most important, but only to allow Gospel principles full liberty (see letter to the German Emperor, 14th March 1890). Force avails little; a merely philosophic base for Man's Brotherhood scarcely avails more.

Of specific reforms three were especially dear to Leo —Small Holdings, Factory Legislation, and Workmen's Guilds. From the very beginning of his pontificate, Leo foresaw and urged what, at the end of the nineteenth century, Europe and America would recognize as their leading industrial feature, the vast development of all kinds of associations, "so that it is hardly an overstatement to speak of the era of competition having passed, and the era of combination come in its stead." It was in the encyclical of 1891 that Leo treated of Catholic workmen's associations at length, and on Trades Unions especially, in his letter to the Bishops of the United States, 6th January 1895.

The best commentary on Pope Pius IX.'s syllabus, which many held to decry modern political as well as scientific ideals, is in Leo XIII.'s social encyclicals. Building no Utopias, dangling before the suffering millions no bait of promises impossible of fulfilment, Leo lays down the principles which, followed out, would abolish half the miseries of life and take the bitterness from the rest, and has clarified Catholic social philosophy and stimulated Catholic social action as never before; the results are there for us to marvel at—in Belgium, most of all, perhaps; in Germany, in the Lombard plain, and even Central and Southern Italy; in France a miracle of resurrection is going on;

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in America the social activity of Catholics is our edification; in England, too, the quiet reawakening is in progress.

. . . . . .

On 20th July 1903 this extraordinary man died. It was the year in which the King of England and the Emperor of Germany, Leo's personal friend, had publicly visited the Pope, when presents from every crowned head in Europe had added splendour to the amazing pageant of his latest jubilee. All this was nothing to the tribute of tears and veneration which, when he passed, a world wider than the Catholic sent after him. In it, most precious were the benedictions of the poor and the labourer, whose figures fitly adorn the tomb in the Lateran where, one day, his ashes shall rest.

"Leo XIII.," wrote Mr. Crawford in 1899, "is the leader of a great organization of Christian men and women spreading all over the world; the leader of a vast body of human thought, of a conservative army which will play a large part in any coming struggle between anarchy and order. He may not be here to direct when the battle begins, but he will leave a strong position for his successor to defend, and great weapons for him to wield. Men of such character fight the campaigns of the future many times over in their thoughts while all the world is at peace around them, and when the time comes at last, though they themselves be gone, the spirit they called up still lives to lead, the sword they forged lies ready for other hands, the roads they built are broad and straight for the march of other feet, and they themselves, in their graves, have their share in the victories that save mankind from social ruin." (*Op. cit.*, ii. 267.)

Pius X

On 4th August 1903, at twenty minutes to twelve, the name of Joseph Sarto was proclaimed from the balcony of St. Peter's to the waiting thousands.

Immediately, to 50,000 more, Pope Pius X. gave, within the Basilica, his first Pontifical Benediction.

We do not mean to write the life of our Pope, nor trace his passage through every phase which the

Church's career can offer, nor his ascent from the very humblest of positions to that spiritual throne at whose steps peasant and prince should kneel in an equal humility. Still less shall we preach the panegyric of the virtues of one who, "studiously the humbler" for his exaltation, looks uniquely to the God he represents to support him in his tremendous task.

In this paper we have constantly suggested that in the midst of—perhaps because of—its sorrows, the position of the Papacy has in one point become constantly clearer, that it is guardian, fountain, distributor, preacher, of a *fact*, the Supernatural Life, or God's grace.

Pius X. made his sole programme understood in his encyclical of 4th October 1903, to the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops and faithful of the Christian world :—

"Since it has pleased the Divine Bounty to raise Our lowliness to a power so sublime, We take courage in Him who strengthens Us ; We begin Our work, relying on the might of God, and We declare that We have no other programme than Our desire to reunite all things in Jesus Christ that He may be all in all. They who measure divine things by human standards will seek to guess the secret intentions of Our heart—they will assign to them an earthly aim and personal predilections. To show the vanity of their illusion We declare that in the midst of society We are not and We never shall be other than the minister of God and the depositary of His Authority. God's interests shall be Our interests, and to promote them We are ready to give Our strength and Our life itself. If asked what is Our motto, it is this : *To restore all things in Jesus Christ.*"

À Kempis says that Christ has set two tables in His Church: His Word, and the Eucharist. By the Servant of God's servants the ministry of neither is neglected.

By the decree of 20th December 1905, a great change in the administration of the Eucharist was accomplished. To the chief channel of Christ's grace the Faithful are now bidden to come daily. Not a reward for the good, merely, but above all a medicine for the sick, is the Blessed Sacrament; and to the altar-rails Pius, with what spiritual force he may, compels the maimed and halt to approach. We need

say no more of this legislation. Any spiritual revolution is invisible in the eyes of the world, nor to be judged by its standards.

On 15th April of the same year the Pope directed a reorganization of the teaching of Christian doctrine in all the Church, based on the supreme duty of pastors regularly to read the gospel and catechetical explanation of Christ's dogma, Sunday by Sunday, to their flock. We recall his own disregard of customary etiquette, and famous expositions of the Sunday's gospel to some 30,000 of Rome's poor parishioners in the court of St. Damaso; and how, when Bishop of Mantua, he inaugurated regular courses of Scripture lectures, admission free to all, in the Seminary Hall. His whole action at Mantua or Venice was to the same end—increased scientific training for future priests in the knowledge of the sources of the Church's doctrine, in view of a more competent and constant popular exposition of it, later, to their flocks. It is his known wish to see a unified Catechism for the whole Church.

Of his zeal for the purity of doctrine we have spoken above (p. 11); the scheme of studies which forms the nucleus of his drastic and universal reform of the Italian seminaries should of itself silence the surmises of those who having dubbed Leo XIII. an "aristocratic classicist," lightly dispose of Pius as a "mystic peasant," content with a learning not of this world.[1] Indeed his measures with regard to the

[1] Professor Paul Kehr, entrusted by the Royal Scientific Society of Gottingen with the publication of a collection of older papal documents, wrote: "Of all the prelates . . . the Cardinals of Venice and of Capua were the most gracious, and advised and assisted us . . . with unbounded kindness and almost fatherly interest. Such prompt and enthusiastic co-operation . . . we do not expect to meet with very often." On receiving, after his elevation, Dr. Pastor's *History of the Popes*, Pius renewed Pope Leo's assurance that the Vatican archives would always be open to all. 'It is a mistake,' he added, 'to withold from investigators, no matter what their religion, any documents that belong to history. Truth must go its own way, and it is belittling to be afraid of her.'" See *Pope Pius X.*, New York, 1904, pp. 363, 394.

selection of professors, reform of the syllabus of studies, the testing and re-testing of the vocation and morality of the candidates, the suppression and fusion of several seminaries, have caused considerable stir, as did the Apostolic Visitation of Rome (2nd February 1904), his suppression in it of needless parishes, together with the erection of churches in the newer quarters, and the unprecedented visitation of the dioceses of all Italy soon after. In this same order of ideas is the letter of 17th December 1903, on the choice of bishops, and the decision that henceforth the Cardinalate shall never be given as official appanage, nor follow any position as a prize, but be conferred purely on considerations directly affecting the spiritual welfare of the Church.

Two measures of wide significance, but too technical and complicated to expose here, are the codification of Canon Law and the reorganization of the Roman Congregations (19th March 1907 and 29th June 1908).

"The delicate and difficult task of redrafting this Canon Law," writes Mgr. Archaumbeault, Bishop of Joliette, in *Rome*, 21st November 1908, "Pius X. has determined to make the great work of his Pontificate; he undertook it at the very beginning of his reign, and it is now being carried out rapidly with the assistance of a cardinalitial commission and with that of the episcopate of the whole world and of learned consultors versed in these matters.

"The codification of Canon Law entailed another measure not less grave, that of the reorganization of the Roman Congregations. These Congregations are in the Church almost what the different ministries are in a civil government. They share with the Pope the work of general administration. . . In the last century considerable changes took place in the political and religious conditions of states and peoples. A new organization of the Roman Curia thus became necessary, and the redrafting of the ecclesiastical laws offered a favourable opportunity for undertaking it. After having been long studied and elaborated by a commission of cardinals endowed with a profound knowledge of the present situation and the present needs of the Church, the desired reform has just received from Pius X. the sanction of his supreme authority. The Constitution *Sapienti Consilio* has caused the disappearance of certain Congregations, has created

new ones, makes a new distribution of the matters appertaining to their respective jurisdiction, simplifies their methods of procedure and ordains a complete separation of the administrative from the judicial power.

Pope Pius, declared *The Times* in its leader on these undertakings, will in consequence go down to posterity as the greatest legislator of modern times.[1]

Even more far-reaching, however, is his social action, in which he closely follows Leo. With his history, the Pope cannot but have close sympathy with the millions of Christ's "poor little ones," and the record of his activities, his foundation of local banks, his institution of popular conferences on questions of social and domestic economy, show that he started at once on a course in which he has never faltered. "In addition to the food of truth," he used to say, "the working man must be given the material wage indispensable for him."

"And thanks to the spirit of initiative of this broad-minded and far-seeing prelate, the first Italian Congress of Social Associations met at Piacenza in 1890, and declared that the two great foundations of the future solution of the labour question were: the principle of co-operation, and the admission of the workers to a share in the profits." (*Rome*, 24th October 1908.)

In the encyclical addressed on 2nd June 1905 to all the bishops of Italy, the Holy Father sets forth the lofty aim that Catholic Action should have:—

"To bring back Jesus Christ to the family, to the school, to society: to restore the principle that human authority is the representative of that of God, to have at heart above all things the interests of the people and especially of the labouring and agricultural classes, not only by inculcating upon all the religious idea, the one true source of consolation amid the trials of life, but by endeavouring to dry their tears, to assuage their troubles, to better their economic conditions by means of well-devised

[1] We have no space to insist on the Pope's determination to follow Leo's restoration of a more spiritual Christian art (testified to in the magnificent Exhibition which followed the Eucharistic Congress at Venice in 1897), and his famous reform of Church Music by the *Motu Proprio* of 22nd November 1903.

measures; to work to make the public laws in harmony with justice and to secure the amendment or the abolition of those which are contrary to it; and finally to defend and maintain with a truly Catholic spirit the rights of God in all things and those not less sacred of the Church."

Finally, of his many pronouncements in favour of a Catholic Press, we may refer to Pius' congratulation of the Metropolitan of Quebec, in 1907, on having established Catholic Social Action in his diocese.

. . . . . .

Not dead, then, is the Papacy; but a living and tremendous witness to the reality of the things of God, the incarnation, in our day, of that force which, through the philosophical, theological, political crises of the centuries, still manifests itself the same as what worked and lived in the old Jewish Dispensation and in the nascent Christian Church.

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